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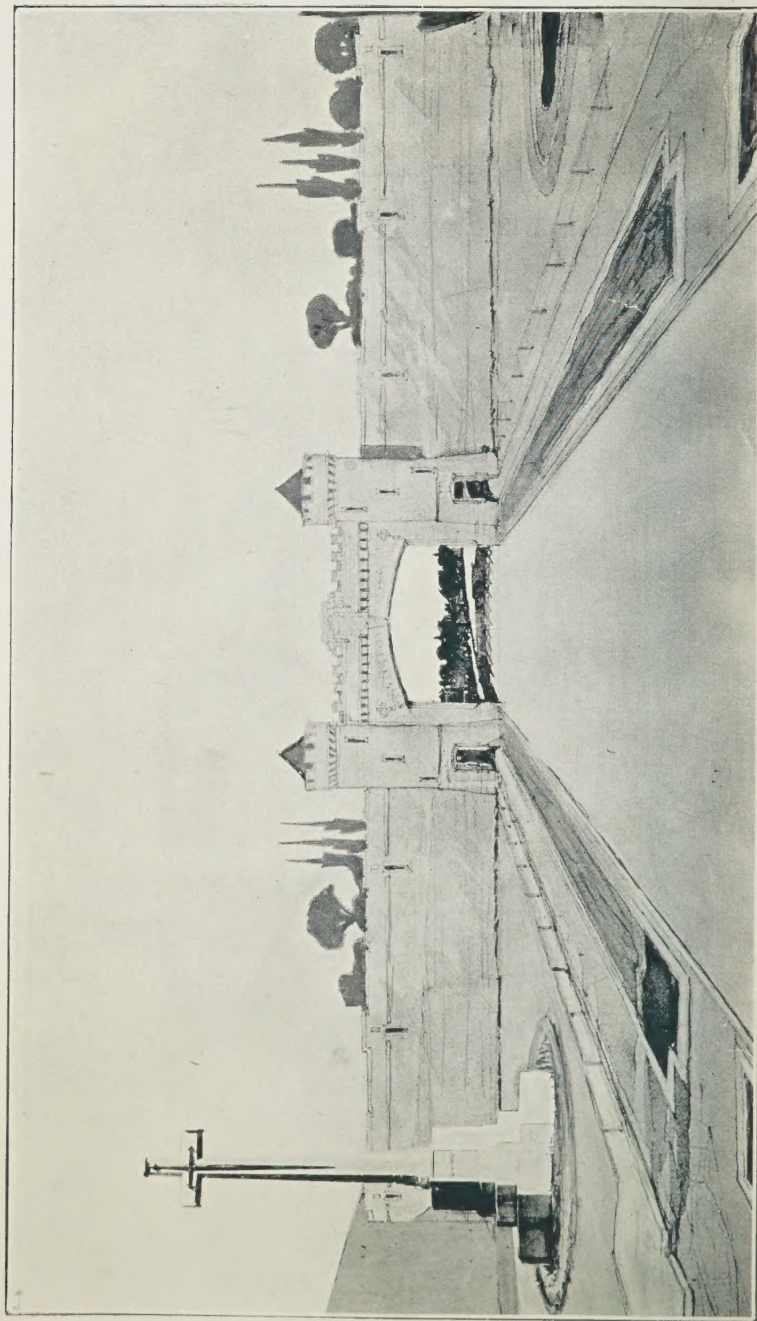


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THE CENTENARY VOLUME



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THE CENTENARY VOLUME

OF THE

Literary and Historical
Society of Quebec

1824-1924



QUEBEC:
L'ÉVÉNEMENT PRESS
—
1924

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LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

PREFACE BY THE PRESIDENT

As president of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in this year (1924) when we are celebrating the completion of a century of existence, it has fallen to me to write the preface to this Centenary Volume.

It is a grateful task to commemorate the good labours of past generations. The present officers and members of the Society well know that the real glory of the institution was the splendid pioneer historical work that was accomplished in the first fifty or sixty years after its foundation in 1824. It was in that earlier period that the ideas and intentions expressed in the three letters by Lord Dalhousie in 1823—printed in this volume—were so extensively carried out by successive bands of capable and indefatigable workers. It was their essential task to gather the documents and other information throwing light upon different features of early Canadian history. In doing this they not only gathered and preserved many valuable sources but their activities also served to stimulate like research elsewhere.

Within the last forty or fifty years, however, the task of gathering historical data has been rightly taken over, and carried on with increasing assiduity, by the Archives departments or branches of the Dominion and Provincial Governments.

But if the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF QUEBEC basks to-day in a reflected glory from the past, as far as historical research is concerned, it has functions at the present time of an important character. It is the custodian of many original documents which it freely places at the disposal of authorized persons, and from time to time the Society has published valuable material that might otherwise have failed to reach the hands of the general student. This has been possible by means of a special endowment to that end given by a former president, the late Dr. James Douglas of New York. Dr. Douglas also left other endowments (the total amounting to twenty thousand dollars)—Five thousand of which is held in trust, by the Governors of Morrin College, under deed of gift by Dr. Douglas, for special lectures, under the joint auspices of this Society and Morrin College, and enables them to provide a series of educational lectures during the Winter months, which are entirely free to the general public: another five thousand of the amount provides for the purchase of books on History, Geography, and Science exclusively. The Society's habitat is Morrin College, Quebec; the rooms occupied being supplied through the courtesy of the Governors of Morrin College, free of rental while this Society continues in its present efforts to spread enlightenment on educational matters of popular and scientific interest.

A monthly meeting of the Society is held on the second Wednesday, followed by a meeting of the Council; the election of members, the receiving Reports from the Treasurer and the Committees, and the

discussion of general business affecting the Society constitute the chief work of these meetings. The minute books of fifty to sixty years ago, indicate that at the monthly meetings the great majority of the members attended, and "like great Anna, whom "three realms obey, sometimes counsel took, and "sometimes tea"—the accounts presented from time to time for refreshments, look formidable to us to-day.

The history of the Society since 1824 given in this volume, was compiled and edited by Dr. Henry Ievers, who is Chairman of the Publication Committee of the Society; he has gathered from various records the historical data comprised therein.

The section on Unique Quebec by Colonel William Wood was issued by the Society this year as a "separate" and was presented in that form to each member of the Royal Society of Canada and of the Canadian Historical Association.

To Dr A. G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, we are indebted for matter contained in the "Dalhousie Papers", as well as other matter on interesting subjects of one hundred years ago relating to this Society, and also for The Duke of Wellington's Report on the defence of Canada from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes, etc., etc., etc.

J. C. SUTHERLAND

QUEBEC, August 20th 1924.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

The first Section of the CENTENARY VOLUME OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC is issued to set forth the objects of the Society to record its Transactions both such as have been published and those yet awaiting publication: together with references to occurrences of especial interest, pertaining more particularly to Quebec.

Partly owing to the many histories of the Great War—both Naval and Military—that have been written, little allusion is made to the supreme effort put forth by Canada: yet Quebec and its environs played a most important part on both land and sea. When the great emergency arose the Military Camp at Valcartier sprang into existence almost in a night, and from our harbour, the transports bore away the legions of our Best. Levis became a hive of industry, building vessels both for England and for France, and the mammoth dry dock with its extensive workshops gave needed aid, to stem the tide of German atrocities and save the world from bondage.

The Society is indebted to Dr. A. G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, for copies of letters and papers connected with Lord Dalhousie; Report of Duke of Wellington; Defence of Quebec; Royal Mail Schedule for 1824, and many other papers.

The Council of the Society decided last winter, to publish Unique Quebec, then being prepared by Col. Wm. Wood, and also to include it in the Centenary Volume:—it is given in full at end of book.

FOUNDATION OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

The formation of this Society was conceived by the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-General of British North America in the year 1823, as evidenced by the following letters written by him to:

The Hon. Wm. Smith, 27th April, 1823.

Mr. Vallières de St. Real, 27th April, 1823.

The Hon. Wm. Smith, 7th May, 1823.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to the Hon. Wm. Smith.*

QUEBEC, 27th April, 1823.

My dear Sir,

I have not lost sight of the conversation I had one day with you in last winter, on the subject of the early history of this Province, and the materials that are supposed to exist in the repositories of individuals or Public Institutions neglected and wasting. The History and language of the Indian tribes would form a principal branch of this interesting subject, and these are fast losing by neglect or decay. I should be highly gratified, could I induce you and the Chief Justice to join efforts with me in the formation of a Society, not entirely "Antiquarian" but Historical rather and Canadian. Our first field may be narrow but I am sure we

should soon be led into one of so wide a range as might prove of great utility to the Province.

In our good Bishop I rest confident of certain support; I have enlisted too Mr. Vallières, as Leader of our Canadian Bands, and if you with the Chief Justice shall join my standard, I shall feel bold to raise it, and propose the subject to the Public, or to such list of Individuals as we may form to begin upon.

I should be happy to see you any day before I go to Sorel. Meantime I remain.

Very sincerely yours,

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Mr. Vallières de St. Real, Speaker of the Assembly.*

QUEBEC, 27th April, 1823.

Dear Sir,

I return with many thanks the Grammar of the Micmac language which you sent me to look at some time ago, and I revert with pleasure to the conversation which I had with you during the Session of Assembly upon the subject of the Indian tribes generally in this Province. I then suggested, and you agreed with me, that it was very desirable that some plan should be adopted to search for, and preserve, all documents or tracts that related to the early history of the Country and of the Aborigenes in it. Several other gentlemen in Quebec have spoken to me on the same subject,

and I am by that encouraged to think that with a very little exertion and public spirit some valuable information may be preserved, which if neglected at this period may be lost irrecoverably.

We find around us examples of Historical Societies in almost every civilised State. Why should not we attempt something of the same sort—In the first place amusing to ourselves individually, and likely to prove interesting to our Country when our time has passed away? I am aware that this requires consideration and arrangement and I therefore merely throw out the suggestion with that view. In looking round the Society of Quebec I see no one so well qualified to take a lead in it as you are—your pursuits in life, your habit of study, your station in Society, all fix my first proposal of it upon you. If you think it likely to succeed, if you are inclined to make the trial even, and will converse it over with those whom you may think to be so inclined also, I beg to offer all the aid and encouragement that may be in my power, either as an individual, or as in public station.

Although I go up to Sorel next week, that need not hurry your enquiries, or decision on the matter. I shall be glad to hear from you at any time at your leisure.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to the Hon. Wm. Smith.*

QUEBEC, 7th May, 1823.

My dear Sir,

I am greatly encouraged by the hopes you give me in answer to my suggestions of the formation of an Historical Society. I have seen the Chief Justice and the Lord Bishop since I wrote you and I now venture to put on paper my ideas on the subject.

Taking it for granted that public improvement is greatly promoted by the various Societies established in England for almost every purpose that can be mentioned, I have seen with regret that in this Province we have none of these. Let us make an attempt; I think we may safely follow the footsteps of England in her public Institutions, however small and humble may be that attempt. My object would be to form a Society limited in numbers—I would say 24, but holding in view to augment, as well as to enlarge in scope, as we shall feel our strength and means to do so.

I would go no further at present than to name as a Committee those who have already been kind enough to approve my suggestion, and leave to their arrangement the names, and preliminary steps, so that when I come down here about the middle of next month, we may hold our first meeting in the Château St. Louis, and complete the formation of our Institution.

In the outset I would take as our principal

object the early history of Canada, and particularly that which relates to the Indians—to collect all books, papers, deeds, or documents which are supposed to be still existing but neglected—the Language of the several Indian Natives, their ceremonies of Religion—of War or Peace—their habits and customs of Life—their dress—their state in our days, and the means by which their condition may be improved.

Though I would not look further at first, there can be no doubt that from a Society thus constituted, every object of national improvement may originate, and hereafter our meetings may embrace Literature, Science, Education, and all other sources from whence spring the happiness of Society.

We must for this gather some funds, by an annual contribution of 8 or 10 dollars, with a small sum as donation to commence upon. The services of our Officers must at first be gratuitous. Our hall of Meeting shall be in one of the rooms of the old Château, which shall be prepared at all times for the purpose, until a better can be found.

We should invite a correspondence with all the Seminaries and Institutions of the Province, and with such individuals as may approve our pursuit.

The Departments of Government of the Province will afford every assistance, and I can add the assurance of that which may be in my power.

With this hasty sketch I leave the rough material in the able hands of the Committee to shape and to polish into a work of public utility, and great advantage to our private Society.

Believe me, My dear Sir,

Yours sincerely & faithfully,

DALHOUSIE

The Committee suggested by Lord Dalhousie, and approved, consisted of the following:—

The Lt. Governor

The Chief Justice

The Lord Bishop

The Speaker of the Assembly

Hon. Wm. Smith

CHARTER

OF

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

WILLIAM THE FOURTH, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith—To all to whom these presents shall come, or whom the same may concern—GREETING: Whereas an Association of divers of our loving subjects in the Province of Lower Canada, has been formed in the City of Quebec, in our said Province, under the name of the “LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC”, for the prosecution of researches into the early history of Canada, for the recovering, procuring, and publishing, interesting documents and useful information, as the Natural, Civil and Literary History of British North America, and for the advancement of the Arts and Sciences in the said Province of Lower Canada, from which public benefit may be expected. And whereas it has been represented to us that the advantages to arise from the Association would be greatly increased and confirmed by the Incorporation of the Members thereof, and an humble application has been made to us that we would be graciously

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pleased to grant our Royal Charter of Incorporation for this purpose. Now KNOW YE—that being willing and desirous to afford encouragement to an Institution for objects so laudible and beneficial: We, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have willed, ordained, granted, and appointed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, grant, and appoint, that George Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, John Adams, Edmund William Romer Antrobus, Charles Ardouin, Thomas Cushing Aylwin, Frederick Baddely, Henry W. Bayfield, Francis Bell, Henry Blake, Edward Bowen, William Brent, Joseph Bouchette, Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, Joseph Bouchette, junior, George Bourne, Judge Burton, Edward Burroughs, John Caldwell, Hugh Caldwell, Archibald Campbell, Charles Campbell, John Saxton Campbell, John Cannon, Edward Caron, John P. Cockburn, Andrew Wm. Cochran, Thomas Coffin, James Cuthbert, John Davidson, William H. A. Davies, Dominick Daly, Jérôme Demers, Edward Desbarats, Frederic Desbarats, Robert D'Estimauville, William Dudley Dupont, William Bowman Felton, John Charlton Fisher, John Fletcher, William Findly, James B. Forsyth, John Fraser, John Malcolm Fraser, François Xavier Garneau, Augustin Germain, Manly Gore, William Green, Louis Guly, John Hale, James Hamilton, André Rémi Hamel, Joseph Hamel, Victor Hamel, Aaron Hart, James Harkness, William Henderson, Frederick Ingall, William Kemble, William Kelly,

James Kerr, Pierre Laforce, Louis Lagueux, William Lampson, Pierre de Salles Laterrière, Thomas Lee, junior, Joseph Legaré, Henry Lemesurier, Thomas Lloyd, William Lyons, Frederick Maitland John McNider, William McKee, William King McCord, Roderick M Kenzie, John Langly Mills, Thomas Moore, Joseph Morrin, George J. Mountain, Henry Nixon, Charles Panet, Joseph Parent, Etienne Parent, Augustus Patton, François Xavier Perrault, Joseph François Perrault, William Power, Francis Ward Primrose, William Price, Rémi Quirouet, William Rose, John Richardson, Randolph I. Routh, William Sax, Jonathan Sewell, Edmund Sewell, Robert S. M. Sewell, William Sheppard, Peter Sheppard, Joseph Skey, William J. Skewes, William Smith, James Smillie, William Stringer, Charles James Stewart, Lord Bishop of Quebec, James Stuart, David Stuart, Andrew Stuart, Joseph Signay, Robert Symes, Jean Thomas Taschereau, John Pyefinch Thirlwall, Henry Trinder, Joseph Rémi Vallières de St. Réal, George Vanfelson, Norman Fitzgerald Uniacke, George Usborne, George A. Wanton, Gustavus Wicksteed, Daniel Wilkie, George Willing, Thomas William Willan, George Wurtele, and Jonathan Wurtele, and their successors for ever, to be elected in the manner hereinafter directed, shall be one body, politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name and style of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; and that by the same name they shall have perpetual succession and a common seal;

and that they and their successors, shall from time to time, have power to alter, renew or change such common seal at their will and pleasure and as shall be found convenient, and that by the same name, they and their successors, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be able and capable to have, take, receive, purchase, acquire, hold, possess, and enjoy, to them and their successors, to and for the uses and purposes of the said Corporation, any messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments of what nature, quality or kind soever, situate, lying and being within our said Province of Lower Canada, so as the same do not exceed in yearly value the sum of five hundred pounds sterling money of Great Britain, above all charges; and also to take, receive, purchase, acquire have, hold, possess and enjoy, to and for the same uses and purposes, any goods, chattels, gifts or benefactions whatsoever. And we do hereby grant and declare, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors for ever, by the same name, shall and may be able and capable to sue in law, and to be sued, plead and to be impleaded, answer and be answered, in all or any Court or Courts of Record within our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and our said Province of Lower Canada, and other our dominions, in all and singular actions, causes, pleas, suits, matters and demands whatsoever, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form as any other body politic or corporate,

or any other liege subjects, being persons able and capable in law, may or can sue, implead or answer, or be sued, impleaded, or answered, in any matter whatsoever. And for the accomplishment of the purposes aforesaid, we do grant, ordain and declare, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors for ever, shall, on the second Wednesday in January yearly and every year, meet at some convenient place to be appointed by the said Society, or the major part of them who shall be present at any General Meeting, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning; and that they or the major part of such of them as shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, one or more Secretary or Secretaries, and such other Officers and Servants as shall be thought expedient, to serve in the said offices during the year next ensuing, and if by reason of any cause, matter or thing, the Election so to be held and made on the second Wednesday in the month of January, yearly as aforesaid, should be prevented, or may not be had or made, we grant and ordain that in every such case it shall be competent to the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, or the major part of such of them as may be present at a Meeting to be held as soon after as may be convenient, to proceed to and make Election of a President, Vice-President, or Vice-Presidents, Treasurer or Treasurers, Secretary or

Secretaries, Officers and Servants, as aforesaid, and the Election so made shall be as valid and effectual as if they had been made on such second Wednesday in the month of January as aforesaid; and we do hereby grant and ordain that the Honorable Jonathan Sewell, our Chief Justice of our said Province, and a Member of our Executive and Legislative Councils of our said Province, shall be the first President of the said Society; and that the said President shall, within six months after the passing of the Charter, cause notice to be given to the several Members of the said Society herein before mentioned, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint; and that they or the major part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the Election of one or more Vice-President or Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, and one or more Secretary or Secretaries, and such other Officers and Servants as shall to them seem meet; which said Officers from the time of their Election to their respective offices, shall continue therein until the second Wednesday in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and from thenceforth until others shall be chosen in their places in manner aforesaid. And we do further grant and ordain, that if at any time or times, it shall happen that any of the persons chosen to the said offices respectively, shall die, or be removed from the said offices, or resign the same during the period for which they shall have been respectively

electd, then, and in every such case, it shall be lawful for the surviving and continuing President, or any one of the Vice-Presidents, to issue notice to the several Members of the said Corporation, to meet at the usual place at which the annual Meeting of the said Society shall be held, at such time as shall be specified in the said notice; and that the Members of the said Corporation who shall meet in pursuance of such notice, or the major part of them, shall and may choose an Officer or Officers, in the room and place of the person or persons who shall have died, or resigned, or have been removed as aforesaid, as to them shall seem meet. And we do further grant and ordain, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, shall and may on the second Wednesday in every month, yearly and every year for ever hereafter, and oftener if occasion shall require, meet at some convenient place to be appointed for that purpose, to transact the business of the said Society; and shall and may at any meeting on such second Wednesday in the month, elect such persons to be Members of the said Corporation, as they or the major part of them present shall think expedient. Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that no act done at any Meeting of the Society shall be valid and effectual unless the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents, and eight other Members of the said Society at least be present, and the major part of them do consent to and concur therein. And

we do further will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do grant and ordain, that the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and their successors, or the major part of them who shall be present at the first and second Meetings of the said Society, or at any Meeting on the second Wednesday in the months of January, May and November in each and every year, and at no other Meetings of the said Society, shall have power and authority to frame and make Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, touching and concerning the good government of the said Corporation, and the income and property thereof, and any other matter or thing which to them may seem fit and expedient, for the more effectual attainment of the objects of the said Corporation, and the administration of its concerns, and also, from time to time, by new Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, as to them may seem meet. Provided always, that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, shall not be repugnant to the Laws of our said Province of Lower Canada or to this our Charter. And provided also, that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, shall be subject to the approbation of our Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the Government of our said Province for the time being; and shall forthwith after their adoption be transmitted for consideration; and in case he shall for us, or in our behalf, signify his disapprobation thereof, in writing, within one year

after the same shall have been so as aforesaid made known to him, the same or such part thereof as shall be so disapproved, shall, from the time of the signification of such disapprobation to the President of the said Corporation, be utterly void and of no effect, but until such disapprobation be so signified, shall be and remain in full force and virtue. And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, charge and command that the said Statutes, By-Laws, Rules and Orders, so as aforesaid to be made by the said Literary and Historical Society, under and subject to the provisions as aforesaid, shall be strictly observed, kept and performed, from time to time and at all times, as therein and thereby may be required, under the penalty therein contained: And we will and by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do grant and declare that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment of the exemplification thereof, shall and may be good, firm and valid, sufficient, and effectual in law, according to the true intent and meaning of the same, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged upon, in the most favorable and beneficial sense, and to the best advantage of the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, as well in our Courts of Record as elsewhere, and by all and singular the Judges, Justices, Officers, Members and others the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, any mis-recital, non-recital, omission, imperfection, defect, cause, matter or thing whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

ANNO DUODECIMO.

VICTORIA REGINA.

CAP. CLII.

An Act to amend the Charter of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

25TH APRIL, 1849.

WHEREAS in the Royal Charter of His late Majesty, King William the Fourth, incorporating the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and bearing date the 5th day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, a proviso is inserted in the following words: "Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that no act done at any Meeting of the Society shall be valid and effectual, unless the President or one of the Vice-Presidents and eight Members of the said Society at least be present, and the major part of them do consent to and concur therein;" And whereas the *quorum* established by the said proviso hath been found to be inconveniently large, and the said Society have petitioned that the Charter be amended in this particular, and the said *quorum* reduced in the manner hereinafter provided: Be it therefore enacted, by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legis-

lative Council and of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, constituted and assembled by virtue of and under the authority of an Act passed in the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and intituled: *An Act to re-unite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and for the Government of Canada*, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that for and notwithstanding anything in the said proviso, or in any other part of the Charter cited in the preamble to this Act, each and every act done at any meeting of the said Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, shall be valid and effectual, provided the President or one of the Vice-Presidents of the said Society, and at least two other members thereof be present at such meeting, and the majority of them do consent and concur therein, and not otherwise.

HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was founded January 6th 1824, by the influence and generous liberality of the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor General of British North America and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1831. A very complete account of the proceedings of the Society from its inception in 1823 to the year 1888 by Frederick C. Wurtele was published by the Society in its "Transactions" 1887-1889 Volume No. 19.

Founded
1824.

The purposes of the Society were declared in a circular to the public of Quebec:—"To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories, and which may prove important to general history and to the particular history of this Province." The numerous historical records published by the Society prove that the purposes above set forth have always been the chief aim of each successive Council.

Purposes.

In 1827 a similar Society, called the "Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts, and Historical Researches in Canada" was formed chiefly by French-Canadian gentlemen; under the auspices

Another
Society
in 1827.

Unites with
Lit. & Hist.
Society
in 1829.

of Sir James Kempt, the Governor General, who was Patron of both Societies, a union was brought about on June 4th 1829, and the name of the older Society was retained. The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was incorporated by Act of Parliament, dated October 5th, 1831.

Occupy
Castle
St. Louis,
burned
1834.

The meetings at which papers were read, were, by invitation of the Governor General, held at the Castle St. Louis, and it is probable that the Society had rooms in the Old Chateau till they were required by His Excellency after the Castle was destroyed by fire January 23rd 1834; when by permission of the Government, apartments for the Library were granted in the Union Hotel, then used for Government Offices. This building at Place d'Armes Square is now occupied and owned by Mr. Morgan.

Occupied
Union
Hotel
1834.

Move
to the
Parliament
Buildings.

Subsequently, by the same permission, more suitable rooms were obtained in the Parliament Buildings, to which the Library was moved.

Fire
in 1854.

Here the Society sustained its first calamity, when at 3 o'clock A.M., of February 1st 1854, the Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire and the whole Museum was burnt; fortunately, almost all the valuable manuscripts relating to the history of Canada were saved, together with a large portion of the Library, but the Society's minute books and private records were lost. The residue was placed in rooms rented in Mr. George Henderson's house, St. Ursule and St. Lewis Streets.

Removal
to
Hender-
son's.

The Government came to the Society's assistance with a grant of £250, which enabled the Library to make a fresh start. As these rooms were not very suitable they were vacated and the Society, in April 1858, removed the 2,500 volumes it possessed to the Union Hotel, and occupied them for one year; when, the Government requiring them, new quarters had to be found.

Again
occupy
Union
Hotel
1858.

In June, 1859, the removal was made to the "Banque d'Epargne" building in St. John Street. The Society remained there until 1862, when more eligible rooms were found in the Masonic Hall, St. Lewis Street; but the removal was decided for them in an abrupt and disastrous manner, for, on October 25th 1862, the buildings were burned and out of 4,000 volumes only 700 were saved, along with the manuscripts, but the contents of the Museum were destroyed.

Bank
Building
burned
1862.

An agreement, dated November 1st 1862 was entered into with Morrin College, which occupied the Masonic Hall, and the remnants of the Society's belongings were gathered together and placed in rooms in that building.

Move to
Masonic
Hall 1862.

In 1864 a printed catalogue of the Library was issued and the number of volumes therein were 1,115.

In 1866 the Trustees of Morrin College purchased the old Jail, corner of St. Ann Street and Stanislas Hill. In June, 1868, the Society removed to the fine rooms they now occupy in Morrin College building.

Morrin
College
purchased
1866.

Four
Libraries
united.

Having related the vicissitudes of the Literary and Historical Society to this point, we will leave it for a space and take up the history of two of the absorbed Libraries:—The “Quebec Library” and The “Quebec Library Association”;—there being no history available of “Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts and Historical Researches in Canada” which was absorbed in 1829 by this Society.

On January 7th 1779, this advertisement appeared in the Quebec Gazette:

“Quebec
Library”
1779.

“A subscription has been commenced for establishing a publick library for the City and District of Quebec. It has met with the approbation of His Excellency the Governor General and of the Bishop, and it is hoped that the Institution, so particularly useful in this country, will be generally encouraged. A list of those who have already subscribed is lodged at the Secretary’s Office where those who chuse it, may have an opportunity to add their names.”

“The *Quebec Library*” was thus formed in 1779. Incorporated in 1845, and sold to the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in 1866.

The “*Quebec Library Association*” was formed in 1843, amalgamated with the Quebec Library in 1845, and absorbed by the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in 1865 together with the “*Quebec Library*”.

On February 12th 1854, the Parliament Buildings were destroyed by fire and a good portion of the books of the Quebec Library Association were burnt. The remaining books were placed in rooms at 42 Ste. Anne street, and subsequently at 21 St. Famille street, which they occupied in 1864. The Association then moved to 13 St. John street, where the Library was carried on until 1866.

"Quebec Library Association" burned 1854.

In 1866, the "Quebec Library Association" sold its Library to the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC and on March 3rd 1868, the "Association" dissolved.

"Quebec Library Association" sells in 1866.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC had now absorbed three other Institutions of like aims, namely:

Three Institutions absorbed.

The "Society for promoting Literature, Science, Arts, and Historical Researches in Canada," formed in 1827 was united with the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC in the year 1829.

Amalgamation of 4 Societies.

The "*Quebec Library*" and the "*Quebec Library Association*", were purchased in 1866 by the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC published their first Essay, given on 31st May, 1824 by Chief Justice Sewell, the following being a copy of its first three pages.

This article which is too long to insert at length, can be found in Vol. 1, of "Transactions" published by the Society.

(The Cover)

AN ESSAY

ON

THE JURIDICAL HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

so far as it relates to the Law

OF THE

PROVINCE OF LOWER-CANADA

*Read at a Special Meeting of THE LITERARY AND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, the
31st day of May 1824.*

*By the Honorable J. SEWELL, Chief Justice of
Lower-Canada.*

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, G.C.B.

FOUNDER AND PATRON;

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE HONORABLE

SIR FRANCIS BURTON, G.C.H., PRESIDENT;

AND TO

THE MEMBERS OF THE QUEBEC LITERARY

AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

THE FOLLOWING ESSAY,

(Published at their Request,)

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

J. SEWELL.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

APPOINTED to address a Society, distinguished, in its origin, by the rank and character of its noble Founder, and, in the first stage of its progress, by the respectability and talents of its numerous Members; whose high and meritorious purpose is, to extend more amply the advantages of Science and Literature to a remote, but rising portion of the Great Empire to which we belong, and the beneficial effects of its disinterested labours to future times, I am anxious to devote the period, in which I hope to be honored with your attention, to a subject which corresponding with the views of your Institution, and involving matter interesting to Science, may, in some degree, be worthy of your notice.

Confining myself, therefore, to the more immediate object of the Society—Historical Research—I shall offer to your consideration an Essay upon the Juridical History of France, antecedent to the erection of the Sovereign Council of Quebec, in the year 1663; the Law, as it was then administered in France, in the Tribunals of the Vicomté of Paris, being, in fact, the Common Law of the division of Canada which we now inhabit (1).

AT A MEETING of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, holden at the Castle of Saint Lewis, in the city of Quebec, on Monday, the 31st day of May, 1824—It is ordered, that the best

(1) *Edits et Ordonnances*, vol. 1. p. 21.

thanks of the Society be given to the Honourable the Chief Justice, for the Address and Essay respecting the early civil and ecclesiastical juridical History of France, which he has this day read before the Society—and that he be requested to furnish a copy thereof for publication.

Certified,

WM. GREEN,
Secretary.

Three volumes of Transactions were issued in the years 1829, 1831, and 1837 respectively. In 1838 the first part of the series of Historical Documents appeared, called “Mémoires sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu’à 1760”. This manuscript was communicated to the Society by Colonel Christie, the author was supposed to have been M. de Vauclain, a naval officer in the French service in 1759. The following remarkable circumstances concerning a copy of it, is thus related by Francis Parkman, the Historian: “The remarkable anonymous work printed by the Historical Society of Quebec under the title ‘Mémoires ‘sur le Canada depuis 1749 jusqu’à 1760’, is full of curious matter concerning Bigot and his associates, which squares well with other evidence. A manuscript which seems to be the original draft of this valuable document was preserved at the Bastille, and, with other papers, was thrown into the street when that castle was destroyed. They were gathered up, and after-

First
Trans-
actions
in 1824.

1st Series
Historical
Documents
in 1838.

Parkman's
account.

MSS. found
1759 when
Bastille was
destroyed.

“wards bought by a Russian named Dubrowski,
“who carried them to St. Petersburg. Lord
“Dufferin, when Minister there, procured a copy
“of the manuscript in question, which is now in
“the keeping of Abbé H. Verreau at Montreal,
“to whose kindness I owe the opportunity of
“examining it. In substance it differs little from
“the printed work, though the language and the
“arrangement often vary from it. The author,
“whoever he may have been, was deeply versed
“in Canadian affairs of the time, and though often
“caustic, is generally trust-worthy”.

It was reprinted by the Society in 1876.

2nd Series

In 1840 the second part of this series was published called “Collection de mémoires et de
“relations sur l’histoire ancienne du Canada,
“d’après des manuscrits récemment obtenus des
“archives et bureaux publics en France.”

Memoirs
of Talon.

(Huit Mémoires reliés en 1 vol. in 8-vo) viz:—

1. *Mémoire sur l’état présent du Canada*, attribué à M. Talon, 7 p.
2. *Mémoire sur le Canada* (1736), attribué à M. Hocquart, 14 p.
3. *Considérations sur l’état présent du Canada* (1758), 29 p.
4. *Histoire du Canada* par M. l’abbé de Belmont, 36 p.
5. *Relation du siège de Québec en 1759* par une religieuse de l’Hôpital Général de Québec, 24 p.

6. *Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la Campagne en Canada en 1759*, 8 p. Impartial Judgment.
7. *Réflexions sommaires sur le commerce qui s'est fait en Canada*, 8 p.
8. *Histoire de l'eau de vie en Canada*, 29 p.

The first three memoirs are from manuscripts obtained from the Archives of the Bureau de la Marine à Paris by Lord Durham in 1838 just before he left Europe to take charge of the Government of Canada and shortly after his arrival at Quebec presented them to the Society, along with two others leaving their publication to the discretion of the Council. Manuscript from Paris 1838.

The third part of the series, called "Voyages de découvertes au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542 par Jacques-Cartier, le Sieur de Roberval. Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, etc.—suivis de la description de Québec et de ses environs en 1608, et de divers extraits relativement au lieu de l'hivernement de Jacques Cartier en 1535-36, (avec gravures fac-similé) ré-imprimés sur d'anciennes relations, 130 p., 8-vo," was published in 1843. Champlain's voyages being copies of manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, and from the Hackluyt collection of 1810, and the plans and maps were copied from a rare edition of Champlain's voyages published at Paris 1613. 3rd Series.
Jacques Cartier.
Roberval.
Xaintonge.

Champlain's Voyages.

The fourth volume of Transactions was published in 1855, followed in 1862 by the fifth. In 4th and 5th Transactions.

1863 the new series was commenced by part one, and continued to part 18 issued in 1886. At present the first three volumes are out of print and very rare. Three parts of the fourth volume are still in print, but the fourth part and appendix are unobtainable. The fifth volume and all of the new series are in print, except number five, of which not one copy remains.

4th part
1st Series.

Mémoires
de Ramsay.

The fourth part of first series Historical Documents was published in 1861, having been obtained by G. B. Faribault, Esq., from the Archives in the office of Marine in Paris in 1852 and presented to the Society; it is called *Mémoires du Sieur de Ramsay, Commandant à Québec au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le 18 septembre 1759.*

2nd series.

The second series was published in 1866 and 1867 in separate brochures, as follows:

Siege of
Quebec
1759.

1. Extract from a manuscript journal relating to the siege of Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser.

2. Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750 to 1758.

3. Dialogue in Hades, between Generals Wolfe and Montcalm, a parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty during the campaign of 1759.

4. The Campaign of 1760 in Canada.

5. The Invasion of Canada in 1775.

6. Journal of an Expedition up the River St. Lawrence in 1759.

Wolfe and
Montcalm
errors.

Invasion
Canada
1775.

The third series was published in 1871 in one volume and is composed of the following narratives:

1. *Histoire de Montréal, 1640 à 1672.* 3rd Series.
2. *Recueil de ce qui s'est passé en Canada au sujet de la guerre, tant les Anglais que les Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682.*
3. *Voyage d'Iberville. Journal du voyage fait par deux frégates du roi, La Badine et le Marin. Commencé dans l'année 1698.*
4. *Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1760, by General James Murray.* Siege of Quebec 1760.
5. *Journal des opérations de l'armée Américaine lors de l'invasion du Canada en 1775-1776, par M. J. B. Badeau.*

The fourth series was published in 1875, in one volume, consisting of the following manuscripts:

1. *A Journal of the Expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759.* 4th series.
2. *General orders in Wolfe's army during the expedition up the River St. Lawrence, 1759.* Wolfe's General Orders 1759.
3. *Journal du siège de Québec en 1759, par Jean Claude Panet.*
4. *Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American rebels, in autumn 1775 and winter 1776, attributed to Hugh Finlay.*

5th series
War of
1812.

The fifth series was published in 1877 and contains documents relating to the war of 1812.

The last manuscript printed to this date, is a detailed account of the vessels arriving at Quebec in the year 1793. It was extracted from the register of the Quebec Exchange and contributed for the publication in the Archives of the Literary and Historical Society by MacPherson LeMoyne, Seigneur of Crane Island, County of Montmagny.

Original
Manu-
scripts.

Besides these published documents the Society possesses a number of manuscripts both original and copies; among which are a number of memoirs letters, diaries, &c., ranging from 1758 to 1830, by the late James Thomson, Sr., a volunteer under General Wolfe, and afterwards overseer of Public Works.

Perrault L'Ainé's Correspondence, 1755 to 1772.

Histoire de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec et procès-verbaux, 1771.

Land
Warrants
1764-1767.

Warrants of Lands, &c., 1764 to 1767.

Mémoire sur le Canada, 1760 to 1764.

Minutes of the Agricultural Society of Quebec, 1789.

Memoirs and Letters presented by J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in 1882, being manuscripts, letters, essays, &c., by J. C. Fisher, Esq., L.L.D., who was President of the Society in 1846, and presented by his daughter, Mrs. E. Burstall.

1 vol. Ship Registers, Quebec, 1779.

2 vols. miscellaneous notes, &c., &c., by J. Jamieson.

All these contain material for more historical documents, should the Society see fit to publish them.

The Library also contains many rare and valuable works such as Baron Masères collections. The original copies of the *Moniteur de Paris*, 1791 to 1803. Almost a complete set of the *Quebec Gazette*, 1764 to 1873. Also nearly a complete set of *Quebec Mercury*, 1805 to 1863. *Le Canadien*, 1806 to 1810. *Berean*, 1844 to 1849. *Quebec Chronicle*, 1848 to date.

Rare
Works.

Exchanges are made with the chief societies of Great Britain, India, New Zealand, Spain, Norway, and United States, whose transactions, proceedings and collections contain much valuable information, both historical, geographical, biographical, geological, and scientific. The Dominion Government sends regularly all the Blue Books and Sessional Papers, as also do the several Provincial Governments. The Society likewise has a complete set of the Canadian Geological survey report and maps. Also the Dominion Archives reports. And the valuable manuscripts following:

Exchanges

Original manuscript of *Procédure Judiciaire*, 1665 to 1759. (6 vols.)

Original manuscript of *Matière de police et Voirie*, 1683 to 1756. (1 vol.)

Original manuscript of *Matière de police*, 1695 to 1755. (1 vol.)

Original
Manu-
scripts.

Original manuscript of *Matière civile*, 1682 to 1746. (2 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Cahier d'intendance*, 1647 to 1725. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy *Registres des insinuations des cahiers d'intendance*. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy *Table des ordonnances, &c.*, 1764 to 1775. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy from the Archives of Paris, 1631 to 1763. (17 vols.)

Manuscript copy from the Archives of London, 1613 to 1779. (6 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Relations sur le Canada*, 1682 to 1712. (2 vols.)

Manuscript copy of *Voyages au Mississipi*, 1698 to 1699. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy of *Histoire de Montréal*, 1640 to 1672. (1 vol.)

Manuscript copy of Sieges of Quebec, 1759 & 1776. (1 vol.)

Govern-
ment
appro-
priates
Manu-
scripts.
1888.

Under authority of an Act intituled 49 and 50 Vict., sect. 3, par. 8 to 10, Cap. 98. passed in 1886 by the Legislature of the Province of Quebec, and the Statutes of the Province of Quebec 51 and 52 Vict., Cap. 1, page 12, Schedule B 58, these Volumes were taken over by the Provincial Secretary on the 19th of November 1888.

Of these there were 28 volumes of manuscript copy described in the catalogue of the Library of Parliament, dated 1858, and were at some time

deposited with the Society. See also Report of QUEBEC LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 11th January, 1854, page 6. On page 1448 of this Catalogue the following paragraphs occur:

“ La Législature provinciale ayant sur requête de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, voté une somme de £300 pour obtenir des documents historiques, M. Faribault fut, en 1845, député à Albany, où il s’entendit avec les autorités de l’Etat de New York pour faire transcrire une volumineuse collection de manuscrits relatifs à l’histoire du Canada, que le Col. Brodhead avait été chargé de se procurer en Europe. De cette manière il obtint 17 volumes de documents tirés des Archives de Paris, et six autres volumes de bureau colonial à Londres. Legislation passed.

“ La première série se compose des 17 volumes transcrits à Albany, et qui se trouvent déposés dans la bibliothèque de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec.”

These are described in detail in this Catalogue on pages 1451 to 1498 inclusive. On pages 1622 to 1644 inclusive, are found the details of the 6 volumes copied from the Archives in the Colonial office in London, and deposited in the Library of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Catalogue.

At the foot of page 1448 is the following paragraph:

“ Les quatre volumes de documents, mentionnés à la page 1616, et qui sont déposés dans la bibliothèque de la Société Littéraire et Histo-

rique de Québec, ont été transcrits à Paris par les soins de l'hon. L. J. Papineau." The following is the detail of these volumes mentioned on page 1613.

I. 1682-1712.—*Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada, au sujet de la guerre, tant les Anglais que les Iroquois, depuis l'année 1682.*

Remark-
able
conditions.

II. 1695-1696.—*Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable en Canada, depuis le départ des vaisseaux en 1695, jusqu'au commencement de l'année 1696.*

III. 1698 et 1699.—*Journal d'un voyage fait au Mississippi en 1698 et 1699, par MM. Iberville et de Surgères.*

IV. 1640-1672.—*Histoire de Montréal, de 1640 à 1672, par M. Dollier de Casson.*

V. 1759-1776.—An account of the siege of Quebec, in 1759 and 1775-76, in 1 volume.

List of documents contained in this volume:

Fraser's
Journal.

1. Manuscript Journals of the Military Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then a Lieutenant in the 78th Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders.

1759.

2. *Journal précis de ce qui s'est passé au siège de Québec en 1759*, rédigé par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien notaire de Québec.

3. *Le Témoin oculaire de la guerre des Bostonnais durant les années 1775 et 1776*, par M. Simon Sanguinet, avocat du barreau de Montréal.
4. *Journal contenant le récit de l'invasion du Canada par les Américains en 1775-76*, rédigé par M. Jean-Bte. Badeaux, ancien notaire de la ville des Trois-Rivières.
5. Journal of the siege and blockade of Quebec by the American Rebels, in the autumn of 1775 and winter of 1776, kept by Hugh Finlay, Postmaster General. Siege of Quebec.
6. *Journal tenu pendant le siège du fort St-Jean, en 1776*, par M. Antoine Foucher, ancien notaire de Montréal.
7. Letters from Colonel Henry Caldwell, to General Murray, dated 15th June, 1776, containing an account of the siege of Quebec by the Americans, during the winter of 1775-76. Caldwell's letters to Murray

All of the above five volumes have been published by our Society with the exception of Vol. II and parts 3 and 6 of Vol. V, which are believed to have been published in Montreal.

The foregoing gives an abbreviated history of the Society up to the year 1887; a more complete account to that date is published in Volume No. 19 of the Transactions of the Society—(1887-1889)

compiled by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq. The Minute Books of the Society prior to 1854 were burned in fire of February 1854.

The Library continued to increase;—the Catalogue issued in 1878, shows there were 8,974 volumes on the shelves, classification of which will be found in Transactions No. 19.

The estimated number of volumes in 1888 was about 15,000 and some 6,000 pamphlets.

Catalogue.

The Catalogue published in 1878, together with Bulletins Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 published in 1900, 1904, 1906, 1921 and the Card Catalogue, indicate works of all sorts acquired by the Society up to the present date (1924).

Henceforward a synopsis of the proceedings of the Society from 1887 to the year 1924 is given, thus completing the Centenary of its existence, 1824-1924.

TRANSACTIONS 1887-89. Vol. 19 contains:—

The Annual Reports of Council etc.

The history of the Society to 1887 together with the following:

An article entitled "An Elementary Discussion of the "Nebular Hypothesis" by Wm A. Ashe, F.R.A.S.

"Champlain's Tomb" by Dr. J. M. Harper, M.A., F.E.I.S.

Documents discovered by Abbé Casgrain, dated 1649 and 1658.

Histoire Abrégée de l'Eglise Paroissiale de Québec. 1644-1771.

Notes sur le Château St. Louis (Incendié en 1834) et le Château Haldimand ou Vieux Château, Québec, prepared by Ernest Gagnon, 1875.

A classified Report of Works in the Library to 1887.

Quebec was supplied with electric power in 1885 developed at Montmorency Falls, about seven miles distant from the City. This being *the first long distance transmission of electric power in the world*, which was then supposed by experts to be impossible, owing to the great loss of electric current from wire of such a length. Quebec enterprise created a new interest in this amazing element which now reaches half across the world without wires.

TRANSACTIONS 1889-90. Vol. 20 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

An Article by Archibald Campbell, Esq. on the steamship "Royal William", named after H.M. King William IV, the keel of which was laid in Quebec on 2nd September, 1830, by George Black, launched from Campbell's Shipyard at Wolfe's Cove, April 29th, 1831. The engines of 200 H.P. being installed by Bennett and Henderson at Montreal.

Steamship
"Royal
William"

3 trips to
Halifax.

The "Royal William" made three trips in 1831 between Quebec and Halifax, which were most successful.

Steaming
with port
engine.

On her voyage to England The "Royal William" left Quebec 5th August, 1833, took on 300 tons of coal at Pictou, Nova Scotia, left Pictou on 18th August, arriving at London twenty-five days later including detention at Cowes, where boilers were cleaned. During an entire week of the voyage the vessel steamed under the larboard engine alone; Captain McDougall holding on his way, even after the engineer reported the vessel about to sink, when the starboard engine had become disabled. That the "Royal William" *steamed continuously during the entire voyage* has been established by reports from the Captain and Officers, as evidenced by the affidavits of Joseph Wilson Henry, Esq., and William H. Baldwin, Esq., before Messrs. Fiset, Burroughs, and Campbell, Notaries at Quebec.

Steamed
contin-
uously.

The Report of the Secretary of State of Canada to the Dominion Parliament for year ending 31st December 1894, contains a full and complete account of this epoch making steamer, showing how just are the claims made on her behalf and giving evidence which has assured her owners and builders the honours universally accorded to her as "the first steamer in the world to cross the Atlantic ocean continuously propelled by steam".

A Memorial Tablet—copy of which is on page 52—was placed in the corridor leading to the Library of Parliament at Ottawa during

the Colonial Conference of 1894, in the presence of His Excellency The Earl of Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, together with the Colonial Delegates from British possessions in all quarters of the globe.

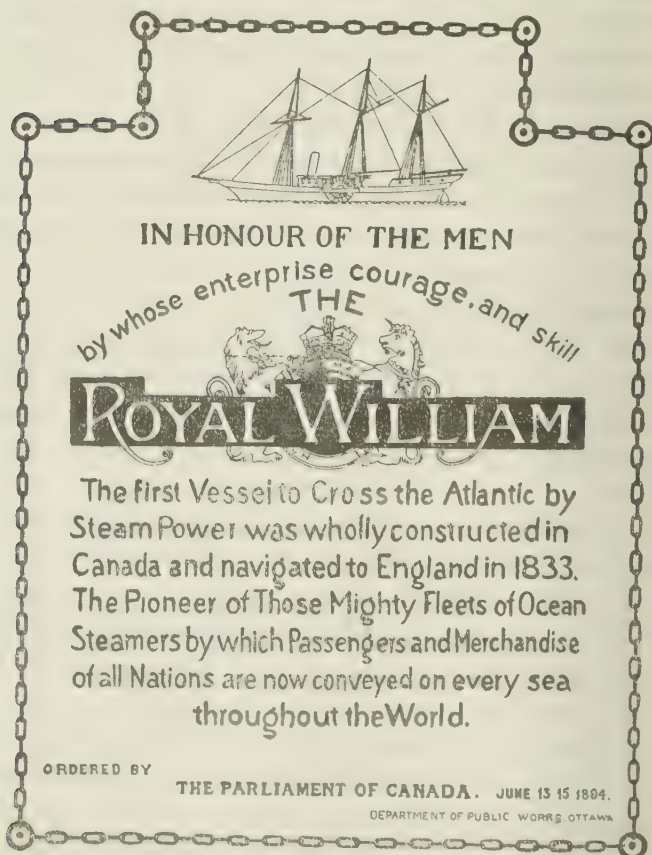
The Right Honourable the Earl of Jersey, P.C., G.C.M.G., representing the Government of Her Majesty; with Representatives of the Dominion of Canada; the Governments of New South Wales; Tasmania; South Australia; Victoria; Queensland; New Zealand; and The Cape of Good Hope, together with the Speakers of both Houses of the Dominion Parliament, the members of the Canadian Government, and members representing the Learned Societies of Canada and the public.

There were two gentlemen present who had been on board this steamer—Mr. G. W. Wickstead, Q.C., who had been a passenger on a voyage to Halifax, and his brother Major Horace A. Wickstead who visited the “Royal William” on her arrival in the Thames after crossing the ocean.

This Government Report also contains a splendid picture of the model of this vessel; the Charter of the Company and List of Subscribers to its shares; also a Report of a Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council in which “the Minister recommends that he be authorized to convey to Captain F. C. Wurtele, Hon. Librarian of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, the thanks of the Government of Canada, for his services in preparing— free of charge—a

“Royal
William”
and
Model.

pamphlet in which evidence is collected establishing the fact that the "Royal William" was the



first vessel to cross the Atlantic propelled by steam". Much of this Report was obtained from Mr. Campbell's article here mentioned—as published in Transactions Vol. 20 by this Society.

Among the shareholders the name of three members of the Cunard family appear; this may

prove to have been the stimulus which eventually created the famous "Cunard Line" whose 20,000 ton steamer "Carmania" is this day (May 1st 1924) in Quebec loading on return trip to England, and whose Atlantic Liner the "Aquitania" logged sixteen knots in twenty-nine minutes on 19th November, 1923; this being at the rate of 33.1 knots per hour which is claimed as a record for a passenger steamer.

The LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC is in possession of the "Record Book" of George Black, the builder of the "Royal William", giving details of measurements of all the various requirements with great minuteness: some of them entered as one quarter inch, one half inch, and three quarters of an inch as occasion demanded, showing the great care taken by Black in construction.

This Book is entirely in his own hand writing—giving measures of hulls, masts, spars, angles, pitch of masts &c., of the many schooners, ships, and steam boats built by Black from 1819 to 13th July, 1833.

On one page the following is written:—"December 3rd 1829—This Book contains the dimensions of twenty four ships—the whole of this number I laid down and built myself, and a great many of the above were very fast sailing vessels, which will be known, and can be proved, by referring to their names.

"On this book I have spent many a leisure hour".

(Signed) GEORGE BLACK

The Book also gives the measurements in full detail of the "Royal William", and it is interesting to note the careful provision Black made in the design, to throw off too heavy seas from the paddle-wheels, which were placed well forward, protected by a fullness given the hull, yet preserving good sailing lines.

James
Goudie.

James Goudie was employed by Black in the building of many of his vessels.

On June 14th, 1854, Captain John McDougall of the steamship "Royal William" gave the Society five pamphlets relating to the "Royal Mail Steam Packet Company"; five copies of Inventories of Stores, Engines, &c. of the "Royal William", and a copy of a testimonial to himself:

On 4th October, 1854, Captain John McDougall presented this Society with an oil painting of the steamship "Royal William". Unfortunately this painting, and the papers given in June by Capt. McDougall are missing, doubtless having been lost in the fire of 1862.

Dr.
Douglas
Gift.

A painting of the "Royal William" was purchased in England by Dr. James Douglas, and



Camouflaged Vessel, 1916.

presented by him to the Society in 1908; it hangs in the principal room, directly under the original model of the vessel.

This original model was awarded a diploma at the Royal Naval Exhibition of Chelsea, England, held under Patronage of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and presided over by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) in 1892. This model has been returned and placed in the Reading Room of the Society. Diploma.

The Canadian Institute of Toronto established a Memorial Tablet in honour of the men associated with the building and sending to sea of the steamer "Royal William". Tablet.

An Article by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq. on the "Cathedral of the Holy Trinity", Quebec, originally called "The Metropolitan Church of Quebec"—the corner stone of which was laid on the 11th of August, 1800—under which a document was placed bearing the inscription: English Cathedral.

"Glory to God in the Highest"

The last stone being set on the 1st May 1804.

The building is erected on land formerly belonging to the Order of Recollets.

The Burial Register of the Duke of Richmond.

A Journal of Voyage of the "Brunswick" The Brunswick

Dragoons
1776.

Auxilliarities" in 1776, in two parts, by Chaplain Melsheimer; the first part was translated from the German, by Col. William Wood, who was then Hon. Secretary to the Council of the Society.

Index to
Authors
and
Subjects
1829-1891.

Index to Lectures, Papers, and Historical Documents published by the Society and authors of same; also a List of the unpublished papers read before the Society—1829 to 1891—Compiled by Fred C. Wurtele, Esq.

Donations to Society.

Exchanges, List of Officers, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1891. Vol. 21 contains:—

Annual Reports of Council, Librarian, &c.

Army Bills
in 1812.

Article by James Stevenson, Esq., entitled "The Circulation of Army Bills, with some remarks on the War of 1812". This paper contains facsimiles of some of the paper currency dated 1813 and 1814.

French
Card
Money.

Mr. James Stevenson delivered in 1874 a lecture on the "Card Money of Canada during the French Domination".

And a lecture on "The Currency of Canada after the Capitulation", by same author in 1876.

Protest
against
light
Literature.

A letter from J. M. LeMoine, then President, warning against permitting the Society to become merely a circulating Library of light literature.

TRANSACTIONS 1892. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Reference to the discontinuance of grant by the Provincial Government.

No
Govern-
ment
Grant.

Reference to Diploma granted to this Society for Exhibit of Model of the steamship “Royal William” at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, England.

Donations to Society, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1893. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. James Douglas acted as delegate of this Society in Spain where festivities were being held celebrating the anniversary of the discovery of the New World.

Dr.
Douglas
in Spain.

Hon. Mr. Joly de Lotbinière read a paper on: “The Most Rapid and Economical Way of Growing Forest Trees” and exhibited specimens of black walnut and other trees grown at Point Platon.

Rapid tree
growing.

TRANSACTIONS 1894. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Formation of Endowment Fund,

Generous
Members.

SUBSCRIBERS to Endowment Fund:—Messrs. Frank Ross, John T. Ross, E. J. Price, R. R. Dobell, G. R. Renfrew, J. H. Holt, Gus. Stuart, Q.C., T. H. Dunn, Arch. Campbell, Logie Dunn, John Hamilton, Theophilus Oliver.

Electric
R.R.

In November, 1894, Mr. E. A. Evans, C.E., submitted an encouraging report to Mr. H. J. Beemer, regarding feasibility of operating a street railway by electricity in Quebec City.

The general opinion was very pessimistic regarding the successful operating of Electric Cars in Quebec, owing to the heavy snow fall in the narrow streets, abrupt curves and severe grades encountered passing from the "Lower Town" level to the Upper Town—almost 315 feet.—Dalhousie St. (Fire Station, St. James St.) 19'.375 Grande Allée "St. Coeur de Marie Church" 334'.349

All of which obstacles have been successfully overcome.—Outsiders did not understand Canadian snow conditions, which falling during cold weather is fine and light—not wet-packing-snow which turns quickly into "slush"—but such as is easily swept away with the rotary brooms, or removed with the snow plows far from each side of the track—very different conditions from those contended with in places farther South, where the snow is a far more troublesome proposition, packing solidly when pushed upon by a "plow", rendering manual labor necessary for its removal.

Even yet, strangers do not realize the many virtues of our Canadian winter, and its snow, which falls in tiny crystals, each laying on the ground separate and distinct, and not packing as in a less cold climate—hence its charm for all who come to recognise the vast difference between the two conditions.

Pleasant
Snow
Condition.

People have been surprised when told of the impossibility of making a “snow-ball” during the winter months, as the snow particles are too dry to adhere together, unless during a thaw, or from snow falling during the warm days of March.

TRANSACTIONS 1895. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

A special subscription was made by Members to pay off accumulated debt:—Messrs. V. Boswell, J. Douglas, W. Hossack, G. R. Renfrew, P. Johnston, C. Tessier, W. Wood, P. B. Casgrain, Jas. Geggie.

Members
help.

TRANSACTIONS 1896. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Lecture “The Vandals in Africa”, Part I, by Mr. L. G. Holme.

Lecture “The Vandals in Africa”, Part II, by Mr. L. G. Holme.

Lecture “Wit, Humour, and Scottish Humour” by Rev’d. Dr. Macrae.

Knighting of Sir James Lemoine.

Sir James
Lemoine.

TRANSACTIONS 1897. Vol. 22 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Promotion of Endowment Fund.

New arrangements for publishing Society's Transactions and Historical Documents.

Lectures given before the Society:—

Lectures.

“The Literature of Germany” by Professor Gunn.

“Poetry and Life”, by Rev'd. Fred George Scott.

“The Water we Drink”, by Professor McIntyre.

“The Battlefield of Lutzen”, by Professor Gunn.

Shakespeare's HENRY IV. Part 1 by the Dean of Quebec.

Published
Papers

Printed Papers:—

Histoire de la Conquête du Canada. Manuscrit inédit.

“A Diary of the Weather”. Kept by Americans in Quebec, 1776.

“The Journal of Sergeant James Thompson”, 1758-1830.

“Brigadier General R. Montgomery's Sword”, 1775.

“How Order of “Gateau” became instituted”.

“The New Canadian Patriotism”, by Leigh R. Gregor, B.A., Ph.D.

List of subscribers to Endowment Fund:

Endow-
ment Fund

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL

John Theodore ROSS,	Hon. E. J. PRICE,
His Grace Mgr. BEGIN, F.R.S.C.	
G. R. RENFREW,	J. H. HOLT,
T. H. DUNN,	G. G. STUART,
John BREAKEY,	James KING,
S. J. SHAW,	Hon. R. TURNER,
Jos. WHITEHEAD,	Wm. SHAW,
Jos. LOUIS,	Hon. P. GARNEAU,
Lady MEREDITH,	E. C. FRY,
Edson FITCH,	Jas. MACNIDER,
D. H. GEGGIE,	Rev. Dean NORMAN,
G. C. HOSSACK,	H. T. MACHIN,
L. C. WEBSTER,	J. C. MORE.

TRANSACTIONS 1898. Vol. 23 contains:—

Annual Reports of Council, Librarian, and Treasurer for 1897.

Lectures given before the Society:—

Lectures

“George Eliot”, by Professor Sharp.

“The New Canadian Patriotism”, by Professor Gregor.

La Fusion des Races, by Prof. de Kastner.

Wolfe's
Statue.

The Society was presented with the Ancient Statue of General Wolfe by C. F. Sise, Esq.

TRANSACTIONS 1899. Vol. 23 contains:—

Annual Report of Council and Librarian.

Legacy and
Donations.

Legacy of \$500 from Mrs. Geo. Renfrew.

Dr. James Douglas promises to add \$500 to the \$500 already donated.

Archibald Campbell donates \$100.

Life
Members.

New Life Members.—Hon. John Sharples and Felix Carbray.

Govern-
ment
promises
Allowance.

Hon. D. A. Ross, Attorney General, states in writing, that it was by inadvertence that nothing was granted the Society by the Government, and that the error will be remedied next session.

Lectures given before the Society:—

“Abelard and the Rise of the Universities”, by Dr. Macrae.

“Joan of Arc”, by Professor Gunn.

Preserve
“Plains.”

Appeal by the Society to preserve the Plains of Abraham as Historic Grounds.

A Memorial to Sir Wilfred Laurier that Historic Grounds be preserved to the public.

The following papers appear:—

Published
Papers.

Military Operations at Siege of Quebec, September, 1759, by Sir J. M. LeMoine.

Battle on Plains of Abraham, 13th September, 1759 (in French) by P. B. Casgrain, Esq., with map showing Eastern part of Plains. Won by Wolfe.

Portrait of Wolfe.

Portrait of Montcalm.

Cuts showing where Wolfe and his soldiers climbed the cliff to the Plains.

Print of Wolfe's Monument.

Print of Montcalm's Monument.

Second Battle on Plains of Abraham, 28th April 1760. (in French) by P. B. Casgrain, Esq., with map showing Western part of Plains with positions occupied by French and English forces. Won by de Lévis.

Portrait of General Murray.

Portrait of le Maréchal de Lévis.

Print of Monument Sainte Foye.

Letters from various sources advocating preserving the "Plains" as National Park.

Sir John William Dawson, Kt., C.M.G., F.R.S. F.R.S.C., late Principal of McGill University, Montreal, and the first President of the Royal Society of Canada, died on 18th November 1899.

TRANSACTIONS 1900. Vol. 24 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Leading part taken by Society to preserve the Plains of Abraham as a public possession.

Plains
purchased
\$80,000

A portion of the Plains of Abraham was purchased from Ladies of the Ursulines Convent for \$80,000. Area 84 arpents, 11 perches (French measure).

Paper by Geo. D. O'Farrell—"Lighthouses of the Province".

Papers
published.

Paper by J. G. Scott—"Proposed Trans-Canada Railway", with map, 13th January, 1903.

Notes on "James Bay Territory" by Henry O'Sullivan, F.G.S.L.

Paper on "The Forests of Canada" by Henry Stewart.

Lectures.

Lectures given before the Society:—

"Tennyson—Poet and Teacher" by Professor Sidley.

"Rambles and Student Life in Germany" by Professor Gunn.

"A Prophet of Imperialism, Sir John Seely" by Dr. I. P. Whitney.

Gifts.

Cash Donations were received from:—Wm. Price, Esq., Archibald Campbell, Esq., Dr. James Douglas.

Historic
Tablets.

March 19th, the Society appoints Committee to place Historic Tablets.

Resolution of condolence on death of the Earl of "Dufferin and Ava", and reference was made to the fact that had it not been for the death of his eldest son, whose title Lord Dufferin felt it incumbent to assume, he would have chosen "Dufferin and Quebec" as his title, instead of "Dufferin and Ava".

Lord
Dufferin

TRANSACTIONS 1903. Vol. 25 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Legacy of \$5,000 received from the late Mrs. J. F. Turnbull.

Donation of \$500 received from Dr. James Douglas.

Gifts.

Donation of \$500 received from Mr. Frank Ross.

Inscriptions for Historical Tablets composed by Col. William Wood, then President of the Society, were submitted.

Inscriptions
on Tablets.

Report of Historical Tablets Committee, was received.

Paper by Dr. James Douglas, L.L.D., Hon. President, was read:—

"Education in Quebec in the 17th Century" with pictures of the Jesuit College, built 1647-1666. Since used as Barracks. Demolished in 1877. City Hall built on site in 1895.

Old
Quebec.

Organization of Seminary, with wood cut, also view of Laval University. (Modern) Letter of Bishop Laval creating Quebec Seminary, and Edict of King Louis confirming the same.

Early
Meeting
Hours !

Attention was drawn to an Article in the Charter fixing the hours for meetings as 8 to 12 o'clock in the forenoon and that the approval of the Lieut. Governor as requisite to change the same in conformity with the Charter.

TRANSACTIONS 1904. Vol. 26 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

TRANSACTIONS 1905. Vol. 26 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Erection of Historic Tablets, and photographs of same.

7th series.

Blockade
of Quebec.

The seventh series of Historical Documents contains material relating to events in 1775, being verbatim reprints in a volume prepared by F. C. Wurtele, entitled: "The Blockade of Quebec in 1775-76, by the American Revolutionists" (Les Bostonnais). The contents comprise: 1. Journal of Thomas Ainslie; 2. The Journal of an Unknown Diarist; 3. The Orderly Book of the British Militia at Quebec, 1775-6; and 4. The Nominal Roll of the French Canadian Militia serving at Quebec during the siege.

Suggestion was made by the Literary and Historical Society that "The Canadian Landmarks Association" be formed. Canadian Landmarks.

Paper was read by Colonel Hubert Neilson entitled: "Slavery in Old Canada—Before and After the Conquest".

Earl Grey was elected Patron, and Lord Minto elected Honorary Member.

TRANSACTIONS 1906-07. Vol. 27 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

The President, P. B. Casgrain, read Monograph before the Royal Society—*sur Samos et la tentative manquée de Bourgainville pour prêter main-forte à Montcalm à la journée du septembre, 1759.*

A Reminder regarding the objects of the Society, as defined in its Charter, was brought before the members. Historic and Scientific objects.

Thanks were conveyed to the Governors of Morrin College for their continued generosity; also to the Provincial Government for \$200 given to aid in the publication of Original Documents of 1775-6. Thanks !

Paper read by Dr. J. M. Harper "Between the Times of War, 1759-1812".

Paper read by Rev. Wylie C. Clark, B.A., B.D., entitled "The Early Presbyterianism of Quebec under Dr. Spark". Papers Read.

Lieutenant Governor Jetté was elected Honorary Member.

8th series.

Publication of eighth series of Historical Documents (1906). This volume is a continuation of subject contained in seventh series; and a Bibliography of the Invasion of Canada, 1775-76.

TRANSACTIONS 1908. Vol. 28 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. Douglas
again
donates.

This year's report is highly satisfactory in a financial way owing to the beneficence of Dr. James Douglas, who has given, apart from minor contributions, a sum of \$500, annually for years past to be expended in the purchase of certain classes of books, and the publication of Historical Documents. Dr. Douglas has now commuted this annual contribution and conveyed to the Society, the sum of ten thousand dollars, in Trust, appointing as Trustees John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C., with full power to invest said fund, paying the dividends to the Society.

Mrs.
Turnbull's
Gift.

The generous legacy of \$5,000 from the late Mrs. Turnbull in 1904 brought our funds to \$8,000, so now the Society has an Endowment Fund of \$18,000.

Père Mar-
quette's
Prayer
Book.

A Fac-simile of the Prayer Book of the celebrated Missionary Père Marquette, translated into the Indian language, has been reproduced

and bound, and 250 copies presented to the Society by Dr. Douglas for distribution to Exchanges, Learned Societies, and prominent personages; the total issue being limited to 300 copies.

Dr. Douglas and Colonel Neilson represented this Society at a Meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, D.C.

Douglas
and
Neilson
at Wash-
ington.

TRANSACTIONS 1909. Vol. 28 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

A reception was tendered the International Council of Women, of whom one hundred passed through Quebec from the British Isles, Europe, and Australia, to attend the quadrennial meeting in Toronto. Our President was invited and attended the meeting.

Interna-
tional
Council of
Women.

Copies of the Fac-simile Prayer Book of Père Marquette, presented last year to the Society by Dr. Douglas, were distributed to Universities, distinguished individuals, and to learned Societies from which we have received exchanges.

A catalogue is being made of the Library of the late Judge Aylwin, which he presented to Morrin College.

Aylwin
Library.

Portraits of some Past Presidents were placed on the walls.

A paper was read by Captain J. G. Boulton, R.N., (retired) on Admiral Henry Wolsey Bayfield

Admiral
Bayfield.
1817-1867.

(with portrait). This article is of great interest, and published to preserve some records of the important work done for the Empire, and Canada in particular, by this most distinguished Hydrographic Surveyor, who has charted the coasts of the Great Lakes, the North and South Shores of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Anticosti, Newfoundland, &c., and given soundings of their waters. Bayfield was appointed Admiralty Surveyor, June 17th 1817, and continued this work up to the 18th October, 1867, when he retired with the rank of full Admiral. He died in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, February 10th 1885, aged 90 years and 3 weeks. Bayfield made the Quebec Citadel his secondary meridian for longitude, keeping his chronometers rated for the local time.

Low water
in Lake
St. Peter.

Commander Bayfield states that on 21st September, 1834, on his way down from Montreal in the "Gulnare", "there is only ten feet of water over the flats of Lake St. Peter," and on 20th September, 1846, states: "Ran over the flats of Lake St. Peter in 8 feet of water".

On March 2nd 1830, Bayfield presented the Literary and Historical Society, of which he was a charter member, with geological specimens from below Quebec and from Anticosti.

Coral ani-
mals in St.
Lawrence.

During the winter of 1830 he read a paper before the Society on "The coral animals in the Gulf of St. Lawrence".

On 1st February 1832, he notes "The First Anniversary Dinner of the Literary and Historical Society" was given to-day at which Lord Aylmer presided".

1st dinner
Lit. & Hist.
Society.

In February 1835 he supplied this Society with a trace copy of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the Saguenay River; also latitude of Montreal and Three Rivers; these to make a base, for map of routes for exploring parties going north of the St. Lawrence; adding: "This map is for The Literary and Historical Society".

We now have the hydrographic history of the St. Lawrence from Jacques Cartier, followed by Champlain, Cook, Bayfield and the Admiralty publication called the "St-Lawrence Pilot", which describes the work done year by year; this year (1924) The Dominion Scientific Research Bureau have decided to send Professor Boyle to undertake scientific nautical Research work in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, north of Anticosti Island, Belle Isle Straits, and the Labrador Coast.

An Article by Dr. James Douglas, L.L.D., Hon. President of this Society, entitled: "The Steamship "Unicorn", on the St. Lawrence Branch of the Cunard Company in 1840, and some Memoranda on "Early Trans-Atlantic Steamship Ser-

Dr. Douglas
S/S
"Unicorn."

Walter
Douglas
Captain.

vice", by Captain Walter Douglas—Commander of the "Unicorn"—who was father-in-law of Dr. James Douglas, who communicated this interesting subject. Captain Walter Douglas acquired his intimate knowledge of the Lower St. Lawrence as sailing Master to Captain Bayfield, in His Majesty's Surveying Ship "Gulnare". Owing to his acquaintance with the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, he was selected by Mr. Samuel Cunard to command the "Unicorn" which preceded the "Britannia", the first regular trans-Atlantic Liner of the Cunard fleet; also containing:—

S/Sailings.

A list of sailings of steamers to and from New York, 1838-39, and recording the time taken on voyages. The best time attained was 13 days 3 hours, by the S.S. "Great Western", Bristol to New York; and 12 days, 10 hours, by the S.S. "Liverpool", from New York to Liverpool.

TRANSACTIONS 1910. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Douglas
Lectures.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College).

"The Outlook for Imperial Unity" by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

"Two Centuries of Parliamentary Life" by Prof. J. L. Morrison.

“Socialism” by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

“Abraham Lincoln” by Prof. Dyde.

Portraits of several ex-Presidents have been added to the walls of the Society, and it is proposed to secure, as far as possible, the portraits of all past Presidents. Portraits.

The large and valuable collection of books forming the “Aylwin Library” has been catalogued by F. C. Wurtele, Esq. Aylwin
Library
Catalogued.

Resolution congratulating the Rev. A. T. Love B.A. on the Honorary Degree of D.D., about to be conferred on him by Queen’s University Kingston, Ont.

Reception proposed to entertain Sir Archibald Douglas, retired Admiral of the British Fleet, and his cousin Dr. James Douglas, our highly esteemed Honorary President. Admiral
Douglas.

Illuminated Address of Condolence forwarded to H.M. King George V on the death of H.M. King Edward VII—A photograph of same remains with the Society. Death
King
Edward
VII.

TRANSACTIONS 1911. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Lectures delivered: (Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College). Douglas
Lectures.

“Canada a Nation” by Prof. S. B. Leacock.

“Mark Twain, the Tramp, the Wag, and the Sage” by Professor R. E. Welsh, M.A.

“Art and its Relation to Modern Life” by R. J. Wickenden.

“The Burden of Peace and Alternatives” by F. M. Hibbard, K.C.

Portraits.

The following portraits of ex-Presidents have been added to our collection:—John Langton, M.A. Hon. D. A. Ross, E. A. Meredith, M.A., Daniel Wilkie, M.A., Hon. A. W. Cochrane, and James Stevenson, Esq.

Earl Grey.

Departure from Canada of the late Governor General of Canada, Earl Grey, who had always taken a keen interest in this Society during his term of office.

Earl Grey
Terrace.

Earl Grey was also active in suggesting the embellishment of “The National Battle Fields Park”, evidence of which endures in the “Outlook”, overlooking the St. Lawrence River and appropriately named “Earl Grey Terrace”; together with a bronze tablet stating that he suggested this position.

Gifts.

A large number of books were presented to the Society both by Mrs. Andrew Thomson and Captain J. A. Benyon.

Marquis of
Granby.

A Print Portrait of John Manners, Marquis of Granby was donated by Mr. P. E. Poulin.

Decided to publish "The Animal Sanctuaries in Labrador" by Colonel William Wood.

Animal
Sanc-
tuaries.

TRANSACTIONS 1912. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Feeling allusion was made to the loss sustained by deaths of:—Sir James Macpherson LeMoine, George M. Fairchild, S. S. Bennett, Stuart H. Dunn, and Major Morgan.

Obituary.

A Volume entitled *Les Fêtes du troisième Centenaire de Québec*—from Mr. G. H. Vandry, President of Committee that published same.

3rd Cen-
tenary.

An Illuminated Resolution of Condolence was presented by Members of the Council to the family of the late Sir James Macpherson LeMoine at Spencer Grange.

Sir James
Lemoine.

A Committee composed of Colonel Wood, Colonel Lindsay, and Mr. John Hamilton were named, to undertake An Album to form an Architectural Record of Quebec's historic objects.

Architec-
tural record
of Historic
Objects.

Photograph was received from Ottawa of the Model of Quebec City in 1800 as restored by the Rev. Father O'Leary.

Model
Quebec
City.

A Monument to the eminent French Canadian Historian, F. X. Garneau, was unveiled on the 19th of October 1912.

1912—"The First French Language Congress"

held at Quebec on 24th June, 1912 sent the following cablegram to His Majesty the King:

French
Language
Congress.

“Assembled at Quebec the members of the First Congress of the French Language in Canada are happy to offer to His Majesty the homage of their respectful attachment to his person and of the undying loyalty which every subject of the French Language in Canada guarantees toward the British Crown.”

The Congress also passed the following Resolution:

“The French Canadians are simply men who guard their rights and who say with pride “What we have we’ll hold”—French Canadians were at home in Canada wherever the British Flag carries in its folds our sacred rights and the traces of our blood. We swear it faith and fidelity, but we demand in return the protection of our liberties.”

TRANSACTIONS 1913. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Douglas
Lectures.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College).

“The Panama Canal” by Lt. Col. Greville Harston.

“Quebec A Century Ago”, including a description of the Duberger relief plan of the City in 1800, by Rev. Father O’Leary.

The ninth series of Historical Documents are now passing through the press. 9th Series.

Major de Lotbinière Panet presented the Society the writing desk used by the late Sir George E. Cartier. Cartier's Desk.

Feeling regret was expressed at the deaths of the following Members:—Messrs, E. E. Code; R. Harcourt Smith; H. M. Price; Col. J. Bell Forsyth; and Frank Holloway. Obituary.

Edward Joseph Roy, L.B., Lit. Dr., F.R.S.C. Historian, Joint Archivist of Canada, ex-President Royal Society, died on 8th of May 1913.

TRANSACTIONS 1914. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Reference made to three prominent members of the Society having gone to the seat of war with the 1st Canadian Contingent: The Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, Rev. Father O'Leary, (both Chaplains) and Lt. Col. David Watson, D.C.L. C.E.F.

The Society sent a number of books to Valcartier for this Contingent during mobilization for distribution by the Y.M.C.A.

Feeling reference made to the deaths of:— Right Rev. Bishop Dunn,—Bishop of Quebec, Hon. Peter S. G. Mackenzie, and William A. Marsh. Obituary.

The Society received a copy of "All Afloat" from the author, Colonel William Wood.

TRANSACTIONS 1915. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Reports, &c.

Dr. Douglas
gifts
\$15,000.

Dr. James Douglas, the Hon. President of this Society, has conveyed the sum of ten thousand dollars in Trust; and during the year of which this is a report, Dr. Douglas has bestowed on the Society, a further gift of five thousand dollars, the interest of which is to be spent on the purchase of books of the higher grade of Literature, History, Geography, and Science. The Trustees being John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C., both being Governors of Morrill College. A special deed being drawn for the administration of this second gift from one of the best friends the Society has ever had.

Trustees.

Deeds
before
Notaries.

For References:—The Deed of Trust donating \$10,000 dated 5th May 1908, drawn by W. Noble Campbell—Notary; The Deed donating \$5,000, drawn by Cyrille Tessier—Notary, 2nd Feb. 1916.

9th Series.

The ninth series of Historical Documents contains:—

"Lady Durham's Journal".

Publica-
tions.

Mémoires de M. le Chevalier de Johnstone.

The Chevalier de Johnstone was A.D.C., to Sir George Murray, Commander in Chief under Charles Edward in the war by him to recover the throne of his ancestors—1745.

Feeling reference was made to the deaths of the following Members of the Council:—James Geggie, one of the most efficient of Treasurers. Obituary.

Philéas Gagnon, who as a Bibliographer was of much benefit in the Council deliberations of this Society.

Resolution of Condolence sent to Madame Gagnon—also to the families of Associate Members who passed away during the year:—Messrs. Alexander Macadams, John H. Holt, J. J. Dunlop, W. W. Johnston.

TRANSACTIONS 1916. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Report of Council, Librarian, &c.

The Book Committee was empowered to give suitable books to invalided soldiers at the Khaki and Overseas Clubs, and at the Discharge Depot. Books distributed.

The accomodation and room space of the Society has been increased through the courtesy of the Governors' of Morrin College, who have also placed the "Aylwin Library under the supervision of this Society for the benefit of its members. Thanks!

Inauguration of the Douglas Course of Lectures, is recorded. Douglas Lectures.

The first lecture given being entitled: "Reptiles of the Past" by Professor J. Austin Bancroft.

Sincere sympathy is extended to the families of members who passed beyond during the year:—Colonel Irvine, Col. Arch. Hay, (Killed in France) Herbert O'Meara, A. Sturton, & Joseph Winfield.

Members at
the Front.

The members who have gone to the front—
or in training to go there:—

Lieut.-Colonel R. E. W. Turner, V.C.

Lieut.-Colonel David Watson, D.C.L.

Rev. Father O'Leary,

Rev. Canon F. G. Scott, D.C.L.

Sir Wm. Price,

Major George Gibsone,

Lieut. O. Learmonth,

Herbert McGreevy,

George Nichol.

Casgrain.

A congratulatory address was presented to
P. B. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., one of our ex-Pres-
idents, on completing his ninetieth year.

Donations of books and pamphlets embracing
amongst others:

“The Crusades of 1838” and “Review of His-
torical Publications relating to Canada” from
Professor Wrong.

“Critical period, 1764-65”, Illinois Historical
Collections X, from P. B. Casgrain, Esq.

Gifts.

“New Régime, 1765-67”, Illinois Historical
Collections, XI, from P. B. Casgrain, Esq.

Armory and Lineages of Canada, 1915, from
Herbert George Todd.

The Bryce Report, from the Dominion Government.

L'Enseignement Secondaire au Canada, from Laval University.

A list of Books purchased with Dr. Douglas' Special Grant in 1916.

Insidious Peace Propaganda Publication, entitled "War and Peace" refused admittance to Library.

Seditious
reading.

TRANSACTIONS 1917. Vol. 29 contains:—

Annual Report of Council, Librarian, &c.

Resolution recording deep regret at the death of P. B. Casgrain, Esq., K.C., aged 90 years—who was a member of this Society for upwards of sixty years and one of its Past Presidents—as a tribute to his interest in the Society and its objects, especially matters relating to the history of Canada. Also recalling his active co-operation in the efforts made for preservation of The Plains of Abraham, as a National Memorial to the most far-reaching event of all Canadian History.

Sympathy
Casgrain's
death.

The Council expressed deep sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada invite Representatives of this Society, to attend Annual Meeting at Ottawa.

Land-
marks.

1918

Annual Reports, &c.

Military
Relics.

Donation of old Military Relics and inventory of same, from family of the late H. M. Price, Esq., was thankfully acknowledged.

Dr. Harper read the Report he had submitted to the Royal Society at Ottawa.

Deed of
Trust.

Regulation of Publication Funds—according to Deed of Trust. Dr. Douglas' Donation.

Classifi-
cation.

Resolved that the proceeds of the Douglas Endowments of \$15,000 be divided into thirds to form three classes—namely:—1st. The General Book Fund. 2nd. The Douglas Book Fund. 3rd. Publication Fund as defined in the original Deed.

Resolution affecting disposition of said Endowment Fund.

Colonel Neilson states that Mr. James Douglas had expressed a desire to become a member of this Society.

James and
Walter
Douglas.

The Council unanimously decided that both Mr. James Douglas and Mr. Walter Douglas, sons of our generous deceased Honorary President Dr. James Douglas, be elected Honorary Members of this Society.

1919

Annual Reports, &c.

Fred.
Lampson.

Resolution of regret at death of Major Fre-

derick Lampson, a valued member of the Council for many years.

The publication—"New York Nation" being found very anti-British and pro-German during the War, and still antagonistic to everything connected with the British Empire, was ordered discontinued.

Pro-German news condemned.

Letter from "Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada" asking assistance of this Society regarding sites having historic interest from a National standpoint.

Historic Sites.

Resolution of Condolence on tragic accident causing the death of our former President, Dr. J. M. Harper, M.A., F.E.I.S.

Condolence on death of Dr. Harper.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. McLennan and Mr. Emmanuel for Books donated.

Gifts.

Portrait of Dr. James Douglas received from Mrs. Douglas and placed in a prominent position in the Library, and the thanks of the Society for same were sent to Mrs. Douglas.

Dr. Douglas Portrait.

Thanks of the Society are tendered to Mrs. Harper for the portrait of the late ex-President, Dr. J. M. Harper.

Dr. Harper's Portrait.

The thanks of the Society were tendered to Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.C.L., Legion of Honour, for the valuable souvenirs he brought from the War and presented to the Society—The

Watson's Gifts.

Vimy
Ridge.

large profile Plaster Cast of "Vimy Ridge", being the original Model used in planning attack by Canadian 4th Division, is especially valuable.

1920—REFERENCES

Annual Reports, &c.

Civic Adv-
ancement.

Mr. E. T. D. Chambers was authorized to represent this Society at the Committee on Study of Civic Advancement.

Welcome!
extended.

The Council deemed it a fitting occasion to extend a welcome to Lieut.-General Sir Richard Turner, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Legion of Honour, and to Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.C.L., Legion of Honour, Lieut-Col. (Rev.) Canon Scott, Lieut-Col. (Rev. Father) O'Leary, Major H. McGreevy, and Capt. Percy Turcotte, Members of the Society, who together with their brother Canadians at the front, contributed their famous part towards winning the Great War.

Dues
increased.

At the General Meeting held on this date it was moved, duly seconded and carried that the motion be put to the General Meeting in January next that the Annual Dues for Associate Members be increased from four dollars to five dollars—this motion is made to accord with the provisions of the Charter.

Gift.

Mr. J. F. Dumontier presented a valuable book entitled: *Directions de la Navigation pour l'île de Terre-Neuve et la Côte du Labrador.*

1921

Annual Reports, &c.

Notice of motion "to increase Annual Subscription to \$5.00" was read at Annual Meeting. Motion.

Lectures delivered:—(Under the joint auspices of the Society and the Governors of Morrin College). Douglas Lectures.

"Ancient and Modern Conception of the Universe" by Dean Adams.

"The Earl of Dalhousie" by Colonel Fraser.

The President suggested that efforts be made to complete our collection of portraits of Past Presidents, there being about ten still to be obtained.

The President was requested to represent this Society at the Annual meeting of the Royal Society in Ottawa. Royal Society.

Old prints of old Montreal Buildings from Mrs. Learmonth were thankfully accepted. Old Prints.
6171

Resignation of Lt. Col., the Rev. Father O'Leary from the Presidency of this Society owing to ill health, was regretfully accepted. Resignation.

1922

Annual Reports, &c.

Resolution of Condolence was sent to the family of our late Treasurer, Mr. J. M. Johnston. Condolence.

Mr. S. S. Oliver agreed to act as Treasurer-pro-tem.

Mr. F. O. Judge appointed Hon. Treasurer.

Permission
granted.

Permission granted to Mr. Pierre Georges Roy, Archivist of the Province of Quebec, to examine, quote, and photograph the archives of this Society for use in the Index to all the Archives relating to this Province.

Land-
marks.

A communication was read from "The Historic Landmarks Association of Canada" desiring this Society to express its views regarding its broadening its activities, and change of title, to "The Historical Association of Canada".

Alter
By-Laws.

Application was made to the Lieut. Governor requesting his approval to alteration in By-Laws (as required by our Charter) changing Annual Subscription from four dollars to five dollars for Associate Members.

Index

It was decided to publish as a "Transaction" An Archival Index to the original documents of Archival Importance, prepared by Col. William Wood.

Condo-
lence.

The Meeting passed a Resolution of Condolence, and the Secretary was requested to convey to Colonel Wood the sympathy of the Society in his recent great loss in the death of his mother—Mrs. Irvine.

The following Resolution was passed at a Special Meeting held on the 26th July, 1922:—

Moved by Dr. Love, John Theodore Ross, Esq., and A. H. Cook, Esq., K.C. Seconded by D. D. O'Meara, Esq., President, Col. Neilson, and Col. Wood "That the Society desires to express its warmest sympathy with the family of the late Mrs. James Douglas in their recent bereavement, which also calls to remembrance the great loss the Society sustained in the passing away of the late Dr. Douglas".

Condo-
lence.

A copy of the above Resolution was sent to Mr. Walter Douglas, New York, on 2nd August, 1922.

It was moved, seconded, and adopted that the Annual Subscription of Associate Members be raised from four dollars to five dollars.

A book, tabulating additions to Library, and other data, was published—compiled by Col. Wm. Wood.

1923

Annual Reports, &c.

Photographs of the painting of steam-ship "Royal William" and of the Model of said steam-ship were sent by this Society as a gift to the Royal United Service Institution, London England.

Photo of
"Royal
William".

The Rev. W. H. Stevens is appointed Hon. Treasurer, to replace Mr. F. O. Judge, resigned.

Rev'd
Stevens
Treasurer.

St. Jean-
Baptiste
Society.

Invitation to have Society represented at a Mass to be celebrated by the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Limoilou was accepted: Mr. Cyrille Tessier agreed to represent the Society.

Closing
Hours.

Decided that the Library shall be closed between the hours of six and eight P.M. during the months of June, July, and August.

Ladies.

Decided that Ladies shall pay the full subscription fee after being duly elected.

Gift.

Gift from Mr. George Gale of Picture Photographs of the Plans of the old City Gates, was thankfully received.

Royal
Society.
invite.

An invitation to send Delegate to Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Canada at Ottawa was received, and it was Resolved that Mr. J. C. Sutherland be appointed to represent this Society at Ottawa at this year's Annual Meeting.

Mr. Suther-
land repre-
sents.

Mr. Sutherland, who represented this Society at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Canada, stated that he had submitted our Report, and gave a short account of what had transpired at the Meeting.

Parkman
Centennial.

An invitation was read from the Parkman Centennial Committee: Col. Wood suggested that Mr. Sutherland might attend the Meeting; which suggestion was approved.

Books to
Labrador.

Mr. Veasey reported that one hundred books had been chosen and were ready to be sent

to the Labrador Coast with the Compliments of the Society.

Index to the Archival Publications of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, 1824-1924, by Col. Wm. Wood, has been received. This work is most carefully compiled, embracing Historical Documents, Transactions, &c., &c., to correspond exactly with the Card Index of the Quebec Provincial Archives—Each entry is made complete in itself with references to subjects and to persons. A list of Documents now belonging to this Society is also appended.

Profuse
Index.

The Society has received 1st and 2nd Volumes of Commemorative Monuments of the Province of Quebec compiled by the Provincial Archivist—Mons. Pierre-Georges Roy.

Monu-
ments.

1924

The Annual Meeting of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC was held in their rooms at Morrin College on the 9th of January. In the absence of the President, the Chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Love, B.A., D.D. Vice-President; the members present included Messrs. Cyrille Tessier, John Theodore Ross, William Clint, J. C. Sutherland, Frank Glass, A. Robertson, Godfrey Rhodes, Judge Gibsone, Col. Wm. Wood, Rev. W. H. Stevens, Dr. George Ahern Dr. Henry Ievers.

The Secretary submitted the report of the Council which alluded to the year just closed—1923—as ending the one hundredth anniversary of the formation of the Society, and that arrangements are being made for the publication of a Centenary Volume setting forth its history.

Quite recently copies have been received of the original letters written by Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of Canada, proposing the formation of this Society in 1823.

The Society continues its affiliation with “The Royal Society of Canada” and with “The Canadian Historical Society” and was represented by J. C. Sutherland at the last annual meetings of those Societies in Ottawa.

The Treasurer’s Report was found satisfactory—the membership has now reached 250—a net increase of 24 during the year.

The Librarian states in his Report that there are approximately 20,000 volumes in our Library, and 10,000 in the Aylwin Library—making a total of about 30,000 volumes to which our members have access.

Attention is drawn to the fact that the amount available for the purchase of new books is limited, not only in amount but also in the classes of books that can be purchased under the restrictions imposed by Deeds conveying our Endowment Fund; there is barely sufficient to meet all demands, even with the increased subscription, as adopted at the last Annual Meeting.

The election of Officers then took place resulting as follows:—

- President:* Mr. J. C. SUTHERLAND,
Vice-Presidents: —Mr. John Theodore ROSS,
 —Mr. A. H. COOK, K.C.,
 —Rev. Dr. LOVE, B.A., D.D.,
 —and Judge Geo. F. GIBSONE
Hon. Librarian: Rev. T. B. McCORKINDALE,
Hon. Treasurer: Rev. W. H. STEVENS,
Hon. Secretary
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Hon. Recording
 Secretary: . . . Mr A. ROBERTSON,
Hon. Corresponding
 Secretary: . . Col. Crawford LINDSAY,
Hon. Curator of
 Apparatus: . . Mr. Frank GLASS,
Hon. Curator of
 Museum: . . . Dr. Henry IEVERS.
Additional Members —Mr. Arthur VEASEY,
 of the Council: . —Mr. Stuart S. OLIVER,
 —Dr. George AHERN,
 —and Mr. F. McLENNAN.

At the close of the meeting a telegram was read from the President of the Antiquarian Society of Montreal conveying their congratulations to the QUEBEC LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY on its hundredth anniversary.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF QUEBEC

FOUNDED IN 1824

Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1831

Patron:

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-
GENERAL OF CANADA

Vice-Patron:

HIS HONOR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, PROVINCE OF
QUEBEC.

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The EARL OF ABERDEEN.

The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, G.C.M.G.

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U. S.

Lt.-Col. George T. DENISON, F.R.S.C., Ottawa.

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—John Theodore ROSS, Esq.
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- Additional Members* —George AHERN, M.D.
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—Arthur VEASEY, Esq.
—Francis McLENNAN, Esq.
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* Star Indicates, with Portrait.

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SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

CONTRIBUTED BY MR. J. C. SUTHERLAND

It is interesting to know that, in addition to many popularisations of Science published by the Society throughout the first century of its existence, there were issued also, in the early years and later, some valuable scientific reports which represented original investigations. During the first decade the Society published some of the first geological reports of Canada; before, indeed, the establishment of the Geological Survey of Canada. These early reports were those of Captain (later Major-General) F. H. Baddeley, R.E. and of Captain (later Admiral) H. W. Bayfield, both of whom were Charter Members of this

Society. In 1829 Captain Baddeley's reports on "The Geology of a Portion of the Labrador Coast" and on "The Geognosy of a Part of the Saguenay Country" were published. Then in 1831 followed his "Essay on the Localities of the Metallic Minerals of the Canadas", and in 1835 "A Geological Sketch of the most South-Eastern Portion of Lower Canada". Captain Bayfield's "Outlines of the Geology of Lake Superior" were published by the Society in 1829, his "Remarks on Coral Animals in the Gulf of St. Lawrence" in 1831 and his "Meteorological Journal kept at Lake Superior in 1824" in 1833. Though Geology in the modern sense was then in its infancy—Sir Charles Lyell almost at the same moment launching the first volume of his epoch-making "Principles of Geology"—these early reports had decided merits, and at least served the useful purpose of awakening interest in the geological exploration of Canada.

The Society was also to be associated with Canadian Geology shortly afterwards in another way, the establishment of the Geological Survey of Canada having been helped by a resolution that this Society passed in 1841. Unfortunately the original cannot be found, all the Minute Books before 1854 having been lost, but Mr. Wyatt Malcolm, Chief of the Division of Geological Information, Ottawa, has kindly furnished the following statement, extracted from Scobie's Canadian Almanac for 1851:

"In July 1841, in the first United Parlia-

ment, a petition from the Natural History Society of Montreal, praying for aid to carry out a systematic geological survey of the Province, was presented by Mr. B. Holmes. It was referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. Holmes, Neilson, Quesnel, Merrit and the Hon. Mr. Killaly, but it was not reported on. A *similar petition* was presented by Mr. Black, from the *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, which was read. The Government took up the matter, and on the motion of the Hon. S. B. Harrison, the sum of £1500 sterling *for the purposes of a survey* was introduced into the estimates".

As that first United Parliament of Canada, not only in 1841 but for several years afterwards, considered that all the geology of Canada could be investigated with that grant of £1500, the need of petitions from learned Societies of Montreal and Quebec at that time is evident. Fuller details of the origin of the Geological Survey of Canada are to be found, of course, in the "Life of Sir William Logan" by Dr. B. J. Harrington, and a footnote on pages 122-125 of the same work contains Sir William Logan's appreciation of the original determinations of Baddeley and Bayfield, both Charter Members of this Society.

In later decades there were other important original papers on Geology. First of all may be mentioned two by James Douglas, jr. This was Dr. James Douglas, whose benefactions to the

Society have practically enabled it to live. In 1864 the Society published his report on "The Gold Fields of Canada" and in 1871 his "Notes on the Copper Deposits at Harvey Hill". In 1864 also there was published a report by Dr. W. J. Anderson on the "Gold Fields of Nova Scotia". Lieutenant (later Commander) E. D. Ashe, R.N., F.R.A.S., a former President of this Society, contributed various original papers among which may be mentioned "The Late Eclipse: Journal of a Voyage from New York to Labrador" (1861), "Latitude of the Quebec Observatory".

Lieutenant Ashe, R.N., was in charge of the first Observatory in Quebec which was situated inside the Citadel walls in 1852.

A letter from Lieut. Ashe, R.N. was read to the Society, together with a copy of his letter to the Governor-General requesting establishment of an Astronomical Observatory at Quebec.

On the 20th of February the Society passed the following resolution:—That the Society concurs in the views of Mr. Ashe on the advantages which would result to the Province from the establishment of an Astronomical Observatory at Quebec, and that a Memorial be addressed forthwith to His Excellency Sir Edmund Head on the subject:—And Messrs. Campbell and Bowen were requested to prepare said Memorial.

The Society received a letter from the Governor-General's Secretary 13th December 1854,

reporting the substance of a despatch received from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in reply to an application of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC for a part of the Commissariat premises in the city with a view to the erection thereon of a Museum and an Observatory.

The Board of Ordnance report—"that advertising to the fact that Quebec is henceforward to be the Head Quarters of Her Majesty's troops in Canada, it would not be advisable to part with any portion of the ground there, now in possession of the Ordnance". (Vide Letter Book).

The present Astronomical Observatory was erected on Plains of Abraham (now Battlefields Park,) in 1874. The instruments being transferred from the old observatory in the Citadel; Commander E. D. Ashe, R.N. who was President of this Society 1866-67 and 1873, continuing in charge.

Mr. W. A. Ashe, succeeded his father—Commander Ashe—as Director at the Quebec Observatory in 1886.

Mr. W. A. Ashe, Director of the Quebec Observatory died in December, 1893.

Mr. Arthur Smith, C.E., P.L.S. was appointed Director in charge of the Quebec Astronomical Observatory in 1894, succeeding the late Mr. W. A. Ashe. The Time Gun is fired daily at noon from signals given by the Observatory—and during the season of navigation, the Time Ball at the

Citadel is dropped at one o'clock to enable navigators to adjust their chronometers.

Two Entomological papers in 1864 and one in 1865, by Mr. W. Couper, were published. Two of the papers dealt with Coleoptera and Diptera found at Quebec and other parts of Lower Canada. Various Meteorological papers from 1825 to 1837, by W. Kelly, M.D., R.N., were published by the Society. In 1855 there was a paper on meteorological observations taken at Quebec during the winter of 1853-54 by Lieut. R. A. Noble, F.R.A.S.

Botany and Natural History in general received much attention. A former President, Hon. W. Sheppard of Woodfield, contributed "Observations on the American Plants described by Charlevoix" (1829); "Notes on some of the Plants of Lower Canada" (1831); "Notes on some of the Plants of Canada" (1832); and other papers in 1835 and 1843, while Mrs. Sheppard contributed a paper on "The Recent Shells which characterise Quebec and its environs" (1829) and "Notes on some of the Canadian Song Birds" (1835). Later, in 1861, 1862 and 1863, Mr. Samuel Sturton contributed two papers on Botany and one on the "Danger Arising from the Substitution of Benzole for Turpentine in Paint". At this same period Mr. John Langton, M.A., contributed various papers—one being "On the age of Timber Trees and the Prospects of a continuous supply of timber in Canada" (1862), which might contain hints for today not only in respect to timber but also

pulp-wood! In 1866 Mr. Langton wrote "On the measurements of heads in Ethnological Investigations" and in 1873 on "Early French Settlements in America". In 1866 Sir James Lemoine wrote "On the Birds of Canada", as well as on literary subjects in other years.

The Index of the publications of the Society which was prepared by the late Fred. C. Wurtele in 1891, and published in that year, is indeed rich in its proofs of the intellectual activity of the LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC, and the foregoing synopsis is merely intended to indicate this fact.

HISTORIC TABLETS IN QUEBEC CITY

1613—COUILLARD'S HOUSE. Quebec Seminary Yard:—"Here stood the house of Guillaume Couillard, employé of the Company of the Hundred Associates, who arrived in Quebec in 1613 and who died on the 4th of March, 1663".

1615—FIRST CHAPEL IN QUEBEC. Little Champlain Street and Sous-le-Fort Street:—"The approximate site of the first chapel erected in Quebec by Champlain in 1615. It was destroyed by fire during the occupation of Quebec by the Kirkes from 1629 to 1632".

1620—FORT ST. LOUIS. Dufferin Terrace:—"Here stood the Fort and Chateau St. Louis. The Fort was erected in the year 1620; within its walls

the founder of Quebec died on December 25th 1635. The Chateau was the residence of Governors of Canada. Begun by the Chevalier de Montmagny, reconstructed by Count de Frontenac, enlarged by Sir James Craig. This building was destroyed by fire on the 23rd of January, 1834”.

1633—CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME. Mountain Hill—at Gate to Cardinal Palace:—“Here was erected, in 1633, the Church of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance under the direction and in fulfilment of a vow of Samuel de Champlain, first Governor of New France. Restored and enlarged in 1634. It was destroyed by fire on the 14th of June, 1640”.

1635—JESUITS’ COLLEGE. Front of City Hall:—“On this site stood the Jesuits’ College, founded in 1635. Destroyed by fire in 1640, rebuilt in 1647, considerably enlarged in 1725. It was occupied partly by British troops and public offices, from 1759 to 1776; as a barrack from 1776 to 1871, and finally demolished in 1877. The church attached to it, which extended towards Ste. Anne street, was erected in 1666 and demolished in 1807”.

1639—RESIDENCE OF V. M. MARIE DE L’INCARNATION. In Lower Town—Notre-Dame des Victoires Church:—“On this site stood in 1639 a house belonging to Noel Juchereau des Chatelets, which was the first residence of the Venerable Mother de l’Incarnation and of the Ursuline Nuns in Quebec”.

1640—RESIDENCE OF JESUIT FATHERS. Near

English Cathedral, at the Corner of Garden and Ste. Anne streets:—"On this ground stood the trading house of the Company of the Hundred Associates. It served as a parish church after the burning down of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance on the 14th of June, 1640, and also served as a place of residence for the Jesuit Fathers from 1640 to 1657".

1644 — RESIDENCE OF MONSEIGNEUR DE LAVAL. Beside the Ursuline Chapel on Donnacona street:—"On this site stood the house of Madame de la Peltrie. It was built in 1644, and within it resided for two years (1659-1661) Monseigneur de Laval, first Bishop of Quebec. It was replaced by the present day-school of the Ursulines in 1836".

1650—RECOLLETS CHURCH. On the north-east corner of the Court House, Place d'Armes:—"This ground, which formerly extended to the east, and was occupied by the Seneschal's Court about the year 1650, became in 1681 the property of the Recollets, who erected on it a church and monastery which were destroyed by fire in 1796. The old Court House built at the beginning of the 19th century was also destroyed by fire in 1873. The present edifice taking the place shortly afterwards. The adjoining Anglican Cathedral occupies part of the grounds once held by the Recollets".

1668—TALON'S BREWERY. Palace Hill on Boswells Brewery:—"On this site the Intendant

Talon erected a brewery in 1668 which was converted into a Palace for the Intendants by M. de Meulles in 1686. This building was destroyed by fire in 1713, reconstructed by M. Bégon; it was again damaged by fire in 1726, restored by M. Dupuys in 1727; and it was finally destroyed during the siege of Quebec in 1775".

1681—RESIDENCE OF CHARLES AUBERT DE LA CHESNAYE. On the Chinic Hardware Co's. store at the foot of Mountain Hill:—"Here stood in 1681 the dwelling house of Charles Aubert de la Chesnaye, one of the most prominent merchants of Quebec in the seventeenth century, the ancestor of the de Gaspé family".

1687—FIRST GRAVEYARD. Half way down Mountain Hill on fortification wall:—"Within this enclosure was located the first graveyard of Quebec, where interments were made from the early days of the Colony up to 1687".

1688—NOTRE-DAME DES VICTOIRES CHURCH. Lower Town:—"This church was erected in 1688, under the name of L'Enfant Jésus, on the site of the old "King's Store", took the name of "Notre-Dame de la Victoire" in 1690, and of "Notre-Dame des Victoires" in 1711. The square in front of the church was used as the market place of Quebec during the French Regime and around it stood the residences of the principal merchants of that time. In the centre of the square in 1686, the

Intendant Champigny erected a bronze bust of Louis XIV”.

1775—MONTGOMERY DEFEATED. On the cliff above Champlain street, near Marine and Fisheries:—“Here stood the Undaunted Fifty safeguarding Canada, defeating Montgomery at the Près-de-Ville barricade on the last day of 1775; Guy Carleton commanding at Quebec”.

1776—MONTGOMERY’S BURIAL PLACE. On the left side of Citadel Hill, 50 yards from St. Louis street:—“In this place was buried, on the 4th of January, 1776, along with his two aides-de-camp, McPherson and Cheesman, and certain of his soldiers, Richard Montgomery, the American General who was killed during the attack on Quebec on the 31st of December, 1775. In 1818 his remains were exhumed and removed to the precincts of St. Paul’s Church, New York”.

1784—CHATEAU HALDIMAND. By the baggage office of the Château Frontenac, (St. Louis street):—“Here stood the Chateau Haldimand, or Vieux Chateau, occupying part of the outworks of the Fort St. Louis. Begun in 1784, completed in 1787. This edifice was displaced by the erection of the present Chateau Frontenac in 1892”.

1791—RESIDENCE DUKE OF KENT. On the front of the “Kent House” east corner of St. Louis and Haldimand streets:—“This building was the residence of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen

Victoria, during his stay in Quebec, from 1791 to 1794”.

1690 — FORTIFIED WINDMILL. Mont-Carmel street:—“On this height, called Mont-Carmel, there stood in 1690 a stone windmill whereon was mounted a battery of three guns, and which served for a redoubt during the siege of Quebec by Phipps. It was called ‘le Cavalier du Moulin’ ”.

1691—PALACE GATE. On the wall of the Dominion Arsenal, Palace Hill:—“Here stood Palace, or St. Nicholas Gate, built in 1691, restored successively in 1720 and 1790; it was rebuilt from 1823 to 1832, and finally demolished in 1874”.

1692—CONVENT-NUNS OF THE CONGREGATION. Corner of St. Peter street and Mountain Hill:—“On this site stood the convent of the Nuns of the Congregation, established by Sister Bourgeoys in 1692, and occupied by the said religious community up to 1842, when it removed to St. Roch”.

1746—FIRST CUSTOMS HOUSE. On the Marine Department Building, Champlain street:—“In 1746, Louis XV, King of France, took possession of this area of ground in order to establish a new shipyard for the building of his vessels. Here stood the first Custom House erected by the British Government in Quebec after the cession”.

1758—MONTCALM’S RESIDENCE. 51 Ram-part street, (previous residence of Sir Lomer Gouin,

Premier of Quebec Province):—"On this site stood the house where Montcalm resided during the years of 1758 and 1759".

1775—ARNOLD DEFEATED. On the Molsons' Bank Building, Lower Town—St. James street, between St. Peter and Sault-au-Matelot streets:—"Here stood her old and new defenders uniting, guarding, saving Canada, defeating Arnold at the Sault-au-Matelot barricade on the last day of 1775; Guy Carleton commanding at Quebec".

1797—PRESCOTT GATE. On the new portion of the City Post Office, Mountain Hill (Tablet removed during construction of Post Office):—"Prescott Gate built in 1797; rebuilt, 1815; torn down, 1871-72".

1806—FIRST FRENCH NEWSPAPER. On No. 22, Ferland street:—"Here was established, in 1806, "Le Canadien", the first French newspaper published in Quebec".

1866—RESIDENCE F.-X. GARNEAU. Corner of St. Flavien and Couillard streets, (No. 14 St. Flavien):—"In this house François-Xavier Garneau, the historian of Canada, lived for several years and here he died on the 3rd February, 1866".

HISTORIC TABLETS YET TO BE PLACED

THE POWDER MAGAZINE.

THE HURON FORT.

THE TREASURY.

HOTEL DES BARONS.

CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF RECOLLETS.
 D'ARNOUR HOUSE WHERE MONTCALM DIED.
 OLD PRINTING SITE QUEBEC GAZETTE
 HOUSE WHERE HON. WM. SMITH DIED.
 HOUSE OF LOUIS HÉBERT.
 FIRST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF MGR. DE ST. VALLIER
 HOPE GATE.
 BUST OF LOUIS XIV.
 HOUSE OCCUPIED BY CHAMPLAIN.
 CHAPEL IN HOUSE OCCUPIED BY CHAMPLAIN.
 HERE WAS ARNOLD WOUNDED.
 FIRST CONVENT AND CHURCH OF RÉCOLLETS.
 ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL.
 ST. JOHN'S GATE.
 FIRST CHAPEL IN SAINT ROCH.
 CEMETRY OF GENERAL HOSPITAL—FRENCH AND
 ENGLISH SOLDIERS 1759-60.
 DOLLARD.

COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENTS IN QUEBEC CITY

WOLFE and MONTCALM . . . Governor's Garden
 CHAMPLAIN Dufferin Terrace
 LAVAL Post Office Place
 CARDINAL TASCHEREAU . . . Front of Basilica
 HÉBERT, Louis Side of City Hall
 MARIE ROLLET
 and Children “ “
 CARTIER, Georges-Etienne . Laval-Montmorency
 Park
 HEROES BOER WAR Esplanade Grounds

GARNEAU, F.-X.....	Outside Louis Gate
SHORT-WALLICK.....	Opposite Drill Hall
FRONTENAC.....	Parliament Grounds
ELGIN.....	“ “
DE SALABERRY.....	“ “
MONTCALM.....	“ “
WOLFE.....	“ “
LÉVIS.....	“ “
TALON.....	“ “
DORCHESTER.....	“ “
MERCIER.....	“ “
LA FONTAINE.....	“ “
BALDWIN.....	“ “
DE LA VÉRENDRYE.....	“ “
PÉRE MARQUETTE.....	“ “
PÉRE DE BRÉBŒUF.....	“ “
BOUCHER DE GROSOIS....	“ “
HALTE DANS LA FORET....	“ “
LE PECHEUR à la Nigonge..	“ “
MONTCALM.....	Park Montcalm
HOPE.....	Spencer Grange
GARNEAU.....	Belmont Cemetery
BAINES.....	Mount Hermon Cem.
DES BRAVES.....	Ste. Foye Road
QUEEN VICTORIA.....	Victoria Park
CARTIER-BRÉBŒUF.....	Near River St. Charles
MARTIN, Abraham.....	C. P. R. SS. Wharf

A Monument to Jacques Cartier is to be erected in Quebec during autumn of 1924. This is to be a replica of the statue in St. Malo, France,

the birth place of Jacques Cartier, by the famous French sculptor Georges Bateau.

The Memorial "Cross of Sacrifice" is placed at proposed entrance to the National Battlefields Park just outside St. Louis Gate. The joint inscription, on either side of cross to read:—

TO THE CITIZENS OF QUEBEC
WHO FELL
IN THE GREAT WAR

A NOS MORTS
DE LA GRANDE GUERRE

With the dates 1914-1918 in front of Cross.

FIRST MASS ON ISLAND OF MONTREAL

A document has just been found after over three hundred years, registering the fact of a Mass having been held on the Island of Montreal in 1615, stating Champlain was present, shortly after his leaving Quebec.

A news report from Montreal, dated 7th May, 1924 states the following:—

*Document enclosed in Earthen Jar discovered by
Gardeners in cavity of Elm Tree at
Sault-aux-Recollets
1924*

Montreal, May 7—While grafting an elm tree in the grounds of the Sisters of Mercy at Sault-aux-Récollets recently, two gardeners discovered in a cavity of the tree an earthen jar in which was a document covered with indecipherable writing. It was handed to a chemist who treated the paper and brought out the writing which was found to be an account of the first Mass celebrated on the Island of Montreal in the year 1615. The words were as follows:

“In the presence of Father Jamay and of Champlain a Mass of Actions of grace at which were present seven Frenchmen, twelve “Cri” children, six Algonquins, chanted and spoken by Father Le Caron, Recollet Father, Charles Lavoisier (or Lavoidin), Bodiaroka, Jean Lebeuf”.

Here follow four other lines which are indecipherable and which probably contained the names of witnesses. It also appears that Jean Lebeuf was the writer of the manuscript.

In Abbé Laverdière’s “History of Canada” the following account is given of this Mass: “Champlain was forced to come down the river from

Quebec to arrange details to be carried out during his absence. He again met at Rivière des Prairies, Father Le Caron, who chanted a solemn Mass on the 23rd or 24th June, 1615, in the presence of a large number of savages”.

The elm tree in which the discovery was made is computed to be 340 years old. Its diameter a few feet from the ground is about five feet and its height about 125 feet.

This document is apparently authenticated by Champlain's letters to His Majesty King Louis XIII of France in 1615 as recorded by l'Abbé C. H. Laverdière, M.A., Professor of History, Laval University, Quebec, Vol. 2, p. 16, taken from the letters published in Paris in 1619.

THE QUEBEC BRIDGE

Built by the St. Lawrence Bridge Company in 1917 is of the cantilever type and is notable not only as having the longest, and by far the heaviest single span yet built, but also for *being the first to use*, in an important structure, *the “K” system of web bracing*.

Owing to the hoisting tackle breaking, the suspended central span fell on the 11th of September, 1916.

The new central span was securely connected into position—(150 feet above high tide) on the 20th of September, 1917, completing this giant structure.

The first railway train passed over the Bridge on the 17th of October, 1917.

The Bridge was open for regular train service on the 3rd of December, 1917.

The length of Bridge is 2,830 feet

“ “ between piers 1,800 “

“ “ of central suspension

span 640 “

The length from North Pier to—
shore 515' —

The length from South Pier to—
shore 515' — 1,030 “

Total weight of metal structure . . . 66,480 tons

“ “ central span 5,510 “

Total cost of metal

structure \$14,500,000

Total cost of Bridge. 25,000,000

COLD STORAGE WAREHOUSE

OF

QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSION

Was commenced in November, 1923—Contracted to be ready to operate in the Autumn of 1924.

Located on St. James street and Dalhousie

street to deep water berths, so placed that fish &c. may be landed from boats almost at the door.

Warehouse 127 ft. x 106 ft. 5 stories high.

Fish Storage

House 60 ft. x 40 ft. 2 " "

Power Plant 60 ft. x 40 ft. 2 " "

With provision for 4 additional stories through out as required.

One half of building is insulated and piped for cold storage, the other half to be likewise insulated when required; this portion meanwhile used for general storage not requiring refrigeration.

Temperatures on three floors to be . . 29° Fahr.

Fish storage one floor to be 15° "

" " " " " Zero "

Capable of reducing to 10° below Zero Fahr.

The cool rooms are supplied with humidifiers and air washing machine capable of renewing air in rooms in 15 minutes.

The cool rooms are capable of storing approximately 850,000 pounds of fish. Poultry, game, meats, eggs, &c., can also be stored.

General storage space 329,000 cubic feet.

Cold " " 249,000 " "

Total of 578,000 " "

All the machinery and equipment are made in Canada.

QUEBEC HARBOUR COMMISSION

	<i>Frontage</i>
Steamship berths in Wet Dock.....	3,000 feet
“ “ Tidal Harbour.....	2,000 “
“ “ Breakwater.....	2,200 “
“ “ Pointe-à-Carcy Wharves..	1,400 “
“ “ River St. Charles Basin.....	3,750 “
Total.....	12,350 “
Depth of water at low tide Wet Dock..	25 to 26 feet
“ “ Tidal Harbour.....	24 to 30 “
“ “ Breakwater over.....	40 “
“ “ Pt-à-Carcy Ocean berth	40 “
“ “ River St. Charles.....	35 “

Grain Elevator capacity 2,000,000 bushels.

“ “ loading capacity 60,000 bushels per hour.

A modern Bunkering Plant for coal was constructed in 1923.

Fuel Oil Pipe Line has supplied vessels with 275 tons or 66,275 gallons per hour.

Railway connections accessible to all railroads.

Sixteen miles of R.R. track on docks to handle freight.

GRAVING DOCKS

There are two graving docks, one 600 feet long by 62 feet wide at entrance—and one of 1,150 feet long by 120 feet wide at entrance, capable of taking the largest vessels afloat; with workshops alongside, capable of executing all required repairs to any sized vessel.

DIVERSION OF WATER

The diversion of water from Lake Michigan for the so called “Sanitary Canal” for Chicago was protested against by Canada in 1912.

The United States Secretary of War, Mr. Stimson found “against the right of Chicago to take the water from the Great Lakes and divert it to the Gulf of Mexico in order to carry on sanitary and water-power operations”. The District Court of the United States later upheld this dictum of their Government—An appeal was entered against these findings by parties interested in Chicago’s action.

Six of the American States bordering on the Great Lakes—Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, also opposed any further diversion of the water from the Great Lakes, which carry the greatest water borne commerce in the world, the traffic being upwards of one hundred and twenty million tons annually.

A SOURCE OF MUCH HISTORIC DATA

The last issue of the "Quebec Gazette", founded on the 21st of June 1764, appeared on the 24th of April 1924, and is now combined with the Quebec Chronicle since the 1st of May 1924.

While the "Quebec Gazette" was the second oldest newspaper in Canada as regards a first issue, it was the oldest in the Dominion,—if not in the World—that has been continuously published for such a length of time as reached at the date of its last issue, almost one hundred and sixty years. It was originally published as a Weekly in both English and French in parallel lines, and was the Official Paper up to 1818. In 1838 the "Quebec Gazette" became a daily paper, being published three days in English and three days in French alternately.

It again became a weekly in 1874, being published in English only, under the auspices of the "Quebec Chronicle".

The first issue of the united paper is dated May 1st 1924 appearing as the "Quebec Chronicle" and "Quebec Gazette".

The "Gazette" published in 1789 the founding of

THE FIRST AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY IN CANADA

The "Agriculture Society in the District of Quebec" was formed on the 6th day of January

1789 under a suggestion of His Excellency the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Provinces on the Continent of North America; who became its Patron and most active supporter.

The Secretary of the first meeting announced that Lord Dorchester had desired that the Directors chosen consist of eight English and eight Canadian gentlemen, who were to meet and frame Rules and Regulations to govern the Society; also inviting the members of the Legislature and others interested to join the Society.

Attention was drawn to the great importance of importing improved seed for the farmers, the same to be distributed as ordered by the Directors.

It was ordered that the best seed of wheat, oats, barley, rye, tares, hempseed, peas, potatoes, cattle cabbage and cattle carrots be purchased in London, where seeds of various kinds specially grown in England, Scotland, Norway, Poland and Hungary could be secured: and these to be shipped in two fast vessels in order to insure the safe and speedy arrival of seed in time for planting, in case of accident to either vessel.

The First Officers of this Society.

1789

His Excellency GUY, Lord Dorchester—*Patron and President.*

Brigadier General HOPE—Lieut.-Governor—*Vice President.*

All the Council and the Canadian Bishop

First Council of Directors

The Rev. Mr. BÉDARD	The Rev. Philip TOOSEY
The Hon. le Comte	The Hon. Henry
DUPRE	CALDWELL
The Hon. Charles	The Hon. Hugh FINLAY
DELANAUDIERE	
A. BERTHELOT	George DAVIDSON
Louis DUNIE	David LYNDE
G. E. TASCHEREAU	Kenelm CHANDLER
A. J. Duchesnay	Thomas SCOTT
J. M. de SALABERRY	J. Mervin NOOTH
Seven of whom may at any time proceed to business	
<i>Treasurer</i> —John LEES	
<i>Secretary</i> —Hugh FINLAY	

The names of the original subscribers were also published, comprising 83 of (evidently) the most prominent French and English persons in Quebec.

The Society immediately proceeded to investigate the disease called “smut” which was causing great loss to all grain crops in Canada at that time, and the Society experimented with various means of combating this evil.

“The experiments of Messrs. de Salaberry, Thomas Aylwin and J. B. Couillard were reported as successful in controlling the plague of “smut”, the means employed were published, and Circulars in French and English were sent to every Curé in all the Parishes for the benefit of the farmers.

“In April 1790 two oxen were exhibited, each weighing over one thousand pounds—these were bred from two small Canadian cows by a bull imported by the Society from England, showing the advantage of good sires to improve Canadian beef.”

From the foregoing testimony it is seen, that the British Administration lost no time, or opportunity, in securing important benefits to the Canadian farmer.

On the 17th of April 1790 Lord Dorchester caused to be published “An Ordinance for the preservation of ancient French Records, to more fully protect those who held property under titles acquired prior to the Conquest”.

The following is an extract from an Address made to the Grand Jury in Quebec on the 3rd of November 1789—which reads in part as follows:

“Canada was conquered—*but conquered into liberty*, and engrafted into such a Constitution as the French admire.

“Happy Canadians! to be a sharer on the purchase, without contributing to the inestimable price England paid for the uncomparable Political Fabric, enjoyed by no other people, in any country, of any age. The lesson taught to this mixed Province is to

melt down ancient discords into mutual love and with united hands to improve and defend the felicity we possess”.

This Address, given nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, must have yielded more generous fruit by now, had the two languages been more generally understood by both French and English.

An extract from an Article written in Paris (soon after the French Revolution) appeared in the “Quebec Gazette” of 18th February 1790—“The study of the English language in France is one of those collateral circumstances which tend to disseminate *just ideas respecting liberty* in France: Reynal—a French author of great distinction and a zealous advocate for general liberty—in speaking of the English language says;—May English be learned by all Nations that aspire not to be slaves—they will then dare to think and act for themselves. It is not a language of only words but of ideas, they—the English—are the first who ever made use of the expression *THE MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language”.

The English should also study French, to enable each of us to fully understand the feelings of our French fellow members of the British Empire—who, with us, have every reason to be proud of the past, which enables us each to respect the other as a necessary part of the Whole.

The evidence of over one hundred and thirty years ago shows the cordial feelings of good will,

expressed in deeds as well as words, which should stimulate both English and French Canadians to endeavour to understand and appreciate each other more thoroughly, much to the benefit of every soul that makes this fair Canada a home, and truly learn, and act upon, the lesson contained in the Address delivered in 1789, by which means the English and the French of Canada may become a truly United People.

WELLINGTON'S REPORT ON THE DEFENCE OF CANADA

LONDON, March 1st, 1819.

My dear Lord,

I have perused with attention the dispatches from the Duke of Richmond upon the Defences of Canada and the papers upon that subject sent me from your office which I now return; and having given them every attention in my power and endeavoured to make myself acquainted with the nature of the Military operations which can be carried on in that country, I am about to communicate to your Lordship my opinion upon the Plans of Defence for those Provinces.

I concur entirely with the Duke of Richmond that the points of most importance in the two Provinces are Quebec, Montreal and Kingston.

In respect to Quebec itself I would recommend the purchase of Mr. Fergusson's ground, and the adoption of every measure in the power of Government to obtain the removal of the houses already close to the Works.

As far as I can learn the Siege of Quebec would be impracticable in a late Season of the year if those houses were removed, I would likewise recommend the construction of the Citadel as proposed. An entrenched Camp would like-

wise be useful on the Heights of Abraham now occupied by the Martillo Towers, but if its flanks cannot be well secured so that the communication with the Tower cannot be interrupted I would recommend that the Camp should only be traced out and that it should be executed afterwards while the enemy should be on the advance.

The work of this kind cannot be considered perfect in itself, nor can its defects be kept secret from the power likely to attack it, and it is as well that he should not have the advantage of framing his plan and forming his means of attack with an exact fore knowledge of the system of Defence to be opposed to him, and of all its defects.

For this reason, as well as to avoid immediate expense, I would recommend the construction of the works of the entrenched camp to be delayed, although I consider an entrenched camp upon the heights of Abraham useful, and even necessary considering the kind of Troops which may be assembled for the defence of Quebec.

Connected with the Defence of Quebec I shall next proceed to consider those of the River Richelieu which appears the only line of advance of an enemy on Quebec, at least it is the only one contemplated by the Duke of Richmond, and the Officers who have written upon that subject.

I entirely concur with the Duke in thinking it desirable that the Works upon the Isle aux Noix should be reformed and put in a respectable state of defence.

I particularly approve of the scheme of making the work within the Island complete and not to consider the River as the Ditch. I should prefer the Work however if it occupied a larger proportion of the Island particularly to the Northward and Westward. I should not think it necessary to give more than a demi revetment to the Scarp.

The counterscarp should be rivetted in order to admit Galleries, for a reverse fire for the defence of the ditch. I would recommend that the covert way should be palisaded with palisades each made of an entire Tree placed about three inches asunder so that Musquetry can be fired from behind them, and firmly fixed in the ground but unconnected with each other.

However dexterous the American soldiers may be in the use of an axe they would not easily cut down these Palisades.

This defence with a demi revetment although infinitely less expensive would thus answer in such situations all the purposes of a complete revetment in Masonry. These Palisades might be kept in store and there would be no occasion to place them till War should be expected.

I would recommend that the Fort should occupy the whole, or nearly the whole of the Isle aux Noix and that those Works looking to the N. W. should have Ordnance sufficiently heavy to be able to command the entrance of the South River.

Indeed it would be advisable to occup as an

outwork of the Isle aux Noix a small Island which is at the mouth of that River, as it appears to be navigable from a point only Miles from Misis-koni Bay, which communicates with Lake Champlain and if an enemy could use this communication he would turn the Isle aux Noix.

The Forts of St. John and Chambly should be kept in a state of efficient repair and everything should be done to impede the navigation of the Richelieu River by the Enemy.

This River remaining in our possession it appears difficult if not impossible in the existing state of the country between the Richelieu, the St. Lawrence and the American Province of Maine for an enemy to penetrate through it with an Army of sufficient strength, its supplies and the necessary Military equipments to be able to make an attack upon Quebec.

The next point for consideration is Montreal and I entirely concur with the Duke of Richmond in the opinion that it would be expedient to destroy all the Works, and to sell all the Magazines, Military Buildings &c. at that place and place them upon the Island of St. Helens. This Island should be fortified as above recommended for the Isle aux Noix.

In reference to the Defence of the Island of St. Helens I would recommend the occupation of the small Island of St. Regis below Cornwall at the extreme of Lake St. François in the River St. Lawrence. This may be considered as an

outpost of Montreal which will besides have the effect of protecting the Navigation of Lake St. François &c., &c.

I do not think it would be necessary to do anything upon the River Chateau Gay although the Americans used it as a line of attack upon Montreal last War. But they were easily repulsed.

Before I proceed to the consideration of Kingston and of the Defences of the Province of Upper Canada it is proper that I should advert to the communications with that Province.

I consider that by the St. Lawrence above St. Regis, and by the Lake Ontario, the River Niagara, the Lake Erié, the River Detroit, Lake St. Clair, the river St. Clair and Lake Huron to be impracticable in time of War. An enemy has only to place a few heavy Batteries closed in, at almost any points of the River in order to prevent our use of the Navigation. We may likewise prevent his using it; but it is absolutely necessary to us, and is not so to him.

This observation applies only to the Rivers; but in respect to the Lakes it must be observed that our use of each of them must depend upon the Naval superiority upon it, and as everything which can enable us to acquire and maintain such Naval superiority must come from England and then by a difficult River Navigation of nearly 300 miles to Kingston and 1200 to Lake Huron, whereas the enemy have all they require upon the spot; it can scarcely be believed that we shall be

able to acquire and maintain that Naval Superiority.

The pains that Sir E. Owen has taken to survey these Lakes and Rivers, and to point out the Plans at which loaded boats and vessels might take shelter, and might receive protection from Works and Troops, then the difficulty, may be the impossibility of executing such a system. Works must be constructed, armed and manned at every point of the Lakes and after all the Officers and Men within might and would have the mortification of seeing valuable cargoes carried off by a single gun boat to which they should not be able to afford protection. But not only is the use of these Rivers and Lakes as a communication impracticable in time of War, but even if it were or could be made practicable I should not recommend it, as it is the longest, the most inconvenient and expensive and the most liable to accidents and contingencies.

I would recommend then first that the Canal from Montreal to La Chine, should be completed, so as to take boats of the largest size.

Secondly, That the Navigation of the River Ottawa should be made practicable to the junction of the River Rideau with the former.

Thirdly, that the Navigation of the River Rideau should be made practicable, and easy to the junction with the Irish Creek and thence if possible through the different Lakes to Kingston.

There is besides I believe a line which leads

up the Rideau River towards the Head of Lake Simcoe, and into Lake Simcoe by what is called the Black River, this line ought to be examined and completed if practicable either by Canal or Railway. All these lines of Navigation ought to be rendered if possible so perfect as that a Steam Vessel might be used to tow the loaded Boats. Trackways should be made on which the Troops might march.

If the Navigation could not be completed between the Head of the Irish Creek which runs into the Rideau River and Huntley's Bridge on the waters which fall into Lake Ontario I would recommend that a good Railway should be constructed, on the carriages of which loaded Boats might be taken from the one to the other.

The point of the greatest importance after Montreal is certainly Kingston. It is the connecting point between the Upper and Lower Province. It contains the Dock Yard on Lake Ontario, and is the most populous Town in the Province, and at the same time so situated in relation to Sackett's Harbour as to be liable at all times to be attacked.

It must then be secured in some degree by Works but without having more knowledge of the detail of the ground, and of the positions of the several Islands than I can acquire from the descriptions and plans transmitted which I have perused and examined, it is impossible for me to say what ought to be done.

As the attack must be made however by a

combined Naval and Military operation I would recommend the occupation with closed works, sufficiently armed of Snake Island, Cedar Island and Garden Island. Those on the spot would best be able to determine how far this system ought to be carried and whether there ought to be a Work on Cataragui Point and one on Simcoe Island. None of these Works need be very capacious or require more than 150 men to garrison them, but they must be well provided with Artillery of the largest description and there must be a good Fort at Point Henry or elsewhere on the Mainland as a keep to these Outworks.

I confess that I very much doubt that we shall ever be able to maintain even an equality of Naval Force upon the Lake Ontario and that being the case I recommend that we should look for our communications forward to the improvements of the Inland Navigation from Kingston by the Bay of Querté and the Rice Lake, to Lake Simcoe and thence to Lake Huron even if it should be found that a water communication can be established from the head of the Rideau by the Black River into Lake Simcoe.

It is impossible to form a judgment from the very defective details which I have perused and the confused Maps and Charts which accompany them how far such a Navigation can be ensured.

It is very obvious however that the object of a Military communication can be ensured by the assistance of Railways for the necessary Portages.

If the communication with Lake Simcoe were once established, whether by the Rice Lake or direct from the Head of the Rideau I would recommend you to remove the capital of the Province from York to Kingston if that Town should not be too far removed from the centre of the Province, or if it is I would then fix the capital of the Province either higher up the Trent River or between the Head of the Trent and the Head of Hollands River.

If it should be impossible to remove the Capital, and, York should still be the place it must be fortified; otherwise from the probable Naval superiority of the enemy on the Lake Ontario, it will be impossible to prevent that Town from falling into his hands as often as it may suit him to visit it whether in Winter or Summer. How this Town is to be fortified it is impossible for me to say without knowing more of the ground than I do at present.

The next point for consideration is the Niagara Frontier. It is my opinion that this Frontier cannot be defended by Fort George or Fort Erié or even by the possession of Fort Niagara. Both Fort George and Fort Erié fell last War without one day's defence and notwithstanding that Fort Niagara was in our possession from the Winter of 1813 General Brown remained on the left of the River Niagara from the month of July to November 1814 and in possession of Fort Erié.

The Niagara Frontier can be maintained and

defended only by a superior Army, and this superior Army can only be maintained by the means which can be conveyed to that distant Frontier.

It is obvious that we cannot rely upon the enjoyment of the Navigation of Lake Ontario.

In my opinion then we ought to look to that of La Grande Riviere which falls into Lake Erié; we ought to endeavour to connect the Navigation of that River with that of Hollands River which falls into Lake Simcoe, with that of the River Thames and with that of the River Chippewa by good Railways if the tributary streams should not allow of doing it by water. By these means we should be able to maintain an Army on the Niagara Frontier notwithstanding that the enemy should be in possession of the Navigation of Lake Ontario.

We should likewise be enabled to concentrate our Naval means in small craft upon Lake Huron, Lake Erié and Lake Ontario upon whichever of the three we might think fit and thus be enabled to be superior to the enemy on one of the three notwithstanding that our operations on Shore and the Defence of the country could be entirely independent of such superiority.

I am perfectly aware however that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the inhabitants of the country to this system, that they will not believe they are to be defended unless they have visible means of defence on the spot, and that people of that description are not unlikely to connect themselves with an enemy to whose mercy they may think they are abandoned and

that to prevent these inconveniences it may be necessary to maintain a Fort on the Niagara Frontier. If this should be the case I would as far as I can judge of the localities recommend a position on the River Chippewa in preference to either Fort Erié or Fort George.

The next point for consideration is a station upon Lake Huron and upon the whole I prefer Penetangathem with its communication with Lake Simcoe.

The result of all these measures would be to give us a secure line of communication from Quebec to Lake Huron of less than 500 miles even passing by Kingston, but less than 400 direct by the Rideau and Black River instead of 1200 miles, and affording better means of defending and maintaining the Niagara Frontier.

The system of defence which I would recommend is as follows:

I suppose the Army disposable in the Field to consist of 10,000 Men Cavalry Infantry of the Line and Artillery besides 1000 Troops of the Line in Garrison at Quebec; 500 at Montreal, 500 in the Garrisons on the Richelieu, 500 in Kingston, 500 on the Niagara and in Pentengathem, besides the Militia which may be destined for each Post.

I take this to be about the Force which was in Canada when the last War broke out.

I would divide this number into two Corps each consisting of 5000 Men then complete with its Field Artillery and Equipments.

Each of these Corps would of course be joined by the Militia not in Garrison of the Districts which would be the scene of its operations.

I would place the left of these Corps on the Irish Creek which falls into the Rideau River. From thence it could reach Montreal in four days and the Frontier of the Richelieu, and the Isle aux Noix in two more or Quebec in three supposing the Navigation to be made as perfect as I believe it may.

On the other hand it would reach Kingston in two or three days and Lake Simcoe in ten or twelve more from Kingston or in six or eight if the communication can be established by the Rideau and Black River.

The Right Corps consisting of 5000 Men with the Militia of the District in which it should carry on its operations should be posted on the communication between the Head of Hollands River which runs into Lake Simcoe and the Head of the Grand River which runs into Lake Erié.

If required at York it could arrive by the Trent in two or three days, if at Kingston it could arrive in six or eight days, if on the Niagara Frontier it could arrive by the Grand River and the Chippewa in from five to eight days according to the extent to which the former can be rendered navigable.

According to this system the Magazines and Stores of the Army and their points of retreat and safety will be far removed from the Frontier, from

the line of Defence and from the scene of operations at the same time that every point will be in greater security than it was in the Last War.

The ordinary communications will cost half the present expense, and a War in that country will with greater success not cost half what the last did.

As far as I can judge of the operations of any future War in these countries, from what took place in the last War I should say that an American Corps of strength and efficiency to contend with a Corps consisting of 5000 Regular Troops, and 3000 Militia and Indians, which is what I suppose these Corps would consist of would not be readily formed, and that if such a Force could be collected and put in operation its own size would distress it, and oblige it to retire from the country without effecting anything.

In the last War the Corps which penetrated further into the country was that which defeated General Proctor on the Thames near the Moravian Town. But this Corps which did not consist of more than 3000 Men did not quit the River Thames and did not advance above twenty miles from Lake St. Clair suffered extremely from want of provisions.

None of the others on either side excepting small plundering parties were ever five miles from their boats or from their respective Frontier.

In considering this system I have laid aside as altogether impracticable the notion of attack-

ing the United States on this Frontier. I have never yet seen any Plan of attack upon that Power which was at all likely to answer the purpose: but I am certain that an attack could not succeed made from this Frontier in which we are frozen up for five months of the year, and on which the enemy have and must continue to have the Naval superiority.

I have the honor to be &c.,

WELLINGTON.

ADDRESS

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEORGE EARL OF
DALHOUSIE, *G.C.B., Captain General and
Governor in Chief in and over the Pro-
vinces of Upper and Lower Canada, &c.*

The Quebec Literary and Historical Society apprised of Your Excellency's intention to embark immediately for Great Britain, begs leave to approach Your Excellency and to express the unfeigned attachment and respectful esteem which the members of this Society individually and collectively entertain for Your Excellency, its Patron and Founder.

To an ardent zeal to promote the best interests of these Provinces under your Excellency's more immediate protection and of British America in general; to a desire to cherish and call forth the rising energies of the Inhabitants of these valuable Colonies, to rescue from oblivion and to collect into one Focus all that relates to the early history and the natural productions of the Canadas; to trace the language and the origin of the several Tribes of Indians heretofore and yet inhabiting the vast continent of America, to your Excellency's love for polite Literature, combined with the Arts and Sciences this yet infant Society more immediately owes its origin: And from the highly munificent donation which your Excellency has bestowed

upon it, and your promise to bring this Institution under the favorable notice of His Majesty The King, to the end that he may be graciously pleased to sanction the name which it has assumed or to confer upon it, the honor of some more appropriate appellation, its future progress and importance are secured; and the sense of your Excellency's continued protection, will form the strongest incitement to perseverance on the part of the Society in the laudable objects for which it was instituted.

The Society trusting that the absence of your Excellency and amiable Countess from this Province will be but of short duration, and most anxiously desirous for your return to it, has to add its fervent wishes for your safe and prosperous voyage and a happy meeting with your kindred and friends in your Native Land.

Signed by Order of the Society,

FRANCIS BURTON,

Chairman.

QUEBEC, 31 May, 1824.

LETTERS OF LORD DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

Castle of St. Lewis,
QUEBEC, 27th October 1820.

My Lord,

I feel it my duty to bring under your Lordship's consideration the situation of the Governor of this Province in regard to his accommodation in House or place of residence, and I beg your Lordship to believe that my motives for so doing are solely of a public nature, little caring personally how or where I am lodged.

As Governor the Province provides the Castle of St. Lewis as the residence in Quebec, and a Government House at Montreal,—here I have no reason to complain except that I am altogether at the good will of the House of Assembly to allow of any repairs; at Montreal the Government House has long been uninhabitable. In Summer the great heat makes it impossible to remain in this House, or in Quebec at all, I must seek a shade somewhere, and there is not a possibility of hiring a place fit for a family. The Governors have usually retired to Wm. Henry on the King's Seignior of Sorel, but that is so small that tents must be pitched for the accommodation of all the servants, and now it is in so wretched a state as to

be nearly tottering and must be expensively repaired. I take the opportunity therefore before going into that expense, to suggest that there are many powerful reasons to urge that a Military Quarter should be provided for the Commander of the Forces in this part of H.M. Dominions, it would therefore place His Majesty's Representative out of the reach of an Assembly disposed to be unaccommodating, it would enable him to maintain in the country that dignity and hospitality, which are expected in his station. It would place him at Sorel on the most proper post in a Military point of view, where the attack is most practicable, where the Army can be most easily assembled, and directed, most abundantly provided and where the daily steam boats and post from Quebec and Montreal, enable him to do the public business without delay, or inconvenience, even to individuals.

The present House at Sorel is a Field Officers' Quarter only. It did not allow me to ask the neighbouring gentlemen to visit me. It has no room for an Aide de Camp, none for my servants, no stable for my horses. It is placed upon a narrow reserved Lot of 150 yards in breadth, and upon right and left the land is occupied and cannot be got were it even worth the purchase. There is adjoining the Town of Wm. Henry a Domain of 300 acres reserved for the Crown, in every way calculated as a situation for the General Quarters. I would therefore my Lord earnestly solicit your

Lordship's recommendation to the Lords of H.M. Treasury that I may be permitted to cause a convenient house to be built there with small stabling, and out houses. From the best calculation I can make of the probable expense I do not think it would exceed £5,000, and that sum would be found in the estimates already approved for 1819 & 1820, in which I find many works either largely estimated, or not immediately so necessary to be executed.

It is needless for me perhaps to state to your Lordship, as an additional argument on this subject that in the mean way in which I was forced to live this Summer, I felt the station degraded, and am convinced that the diminished rank which the Governor is thus necessarily reduced to tends greatly to lower him in the opinion of the Canadian people.

I have &c.

DALHOUSIE.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Sir James Kempt.*

Castle of St. Lewis,
QUEBEC, 3rd January 1821.

My dear Sir James,

I regret much to hear the reports from Halifax that you have already felt the severity of the cold, and I fear therefore that the after part of Winter

will tell harder still upon you. We have it now very intense indeed $\frac{0}{30}$, but inside the Chateau we are warm and comfortable.

I have felt nothing myself, but we have had a great deal of sickness in the house, and I am sorry to say I feel so uneasy about my young friend Schomberg Kerr, that I am going to pack him off directly to New York and home—he has been thin, and weak, and out of tune since September without any decided complaint, and now looks like a Ghost.

Our Parliamentary proceedings have been nearly at a standstill during the holidays, and the good temper of all parties appears to gain strength as our acquaintance grows. I have given the Speaker, an *ex officio* seat in the Executive Council, not to flatter or to coax that House, but from a conviction that he ought to know the intentions of Government as a Privy Counsellor—that the Governor ought to consult him on public measures—and that the Public should know that I am acting a frank, fair, and candid part with them, free from intrigue and free from guile. I think it a measure that will lead to unanimity in Council, and confidence in it which does not exist at present.

Will you do me the favour to ask Jeffray, what became of the boxes of stuffed birds I left in his care for England. My best compliments to him—as also to Judge Stewart, Halliburton, Wallace &c., &c.

Yours &c., &c.

DALHOUSIE

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to The Right Hon. Earl Bathurst, K.G.*

QUEBEC, 28th August 1821.

My Lord,

I beg leave to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a letter from the Chief Engineer in these Provinces accompanied by a sketch of the City of Quebec, the suburbs Works &c. and setting forth the necessity of purchasing on the part of Government, certain premises contiguous to, and which interfere with, the advanced defences of the place.

A reference to the plan—No copy of this plan in the Military Secretary's office—will point out to your Lordship the situation and extent of the premises in question, a part of which you will perceive would of necessity be occupied by field works should it be required to connect the Towers in the event of any attack upon the Town.

In the dispatch which was addressed to your Lordship by the late Commander of the Forces on the 11th August 1818, His Grace represented the necessity of Government becoming possessed of the ground laid out for Suburbs near to Cape Diamond, in order to prevent the erection of buildings too close to the works in that direction. This purchase has been made under the authority of Lords of the Treasury as communicated in your Lordship's dispatch of 25th May 1819 and will effectually prevent the inconvenience that was

to be apprehended from its falling into the hands of individuals.

As the same objection obtains with respect to the ground now under consideration, though somewhat further removed from the body of the place, I beg leave to express my entire concurrence in the opinion of Lt. Col. Durnford as to the propriety of our obtaining possession of the premises.

If the purchase be made immediately the whole may probably be had for about four thousand pounds—any delay in the transaction will greatly enhance the price, as the proprietors are making arrangements for conceding part of the premises in building lots. I therefore beg leave to recommend very strongly, that I should be authorised to purchase for Government such part of the ground marked green on the plan as may be likely to interfere with the defences of Quebec.

I have &c.,

DALHOUSIE,
Commander of the Forces.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

QUEBEC, 12th July 1822.

My Lord,

Pursuant to the authority conveyed in your Lordship's letter of 31st December last for purchasing certain premises which I had represented in my dispatch of 28th August 1821 to be necessary for Government to be possessed of, with a view

to the defences of this place, I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that of the lots marked *green* on the plan which accompanied my letter I have caused those lying between the Towers and in front of the Fortifications to be purchased for which the sum of seven thousand and twenty six pounds nine shillings Sterling has been paid by the Commissary General. The ground thus acquired contains in the whole about sixty five acres.

Independant of the foregoing purchase the Commanding Engineer has strongly urged the expediency of obtaining certain other small lots immediately at the foot of the glacis of the Citadel now constructing but as the demands of the proprietors appear to me altogether unreasonable I have declined acceding to the proposal. The situation of these lots does not render their immediate acquisition indispensable, although the regular slope of the glacis may meet with some interruption from the want of room sufficient to extend it in that direction.

I trust your Lordship will approve of what I have done on this occasion, in which I have been altogether *governed* by a consideration of the ultimate advantage that Government will derive from having this ground disposable which will at any time bring a price equal to that now paid for it.

I have &c.,

DALHOUSIE,
Commander of the Forces.

LETTER, *Col. Durnford to Col. Darling.*

Royal Engineer's Office.

QUEBEC, 16th Decr., 1824.

Sir,

Observing preparations are making to build several valuable dwelling houses, and that a considerable quantity of mining is already executed, adjacent to the Government Boundary on the North and West fronts of the New Works at the junction of St. Ursule and St. Denis Streets, which circumstances I consider highly detrimental to the Defences, and now prevent a determination being made on the necessary slopes to be given either to the Parapet or Glacis; I think it my indispensable duty to request you to introduce the subject to the consideration of His Excellency the Major General Commanding the Forces.

I have the honor to forward a plan, shewing the fronts of the new Fortification, especially affected by the circumstances above alluded to, and the various lots of land, that in my opinion require to be immediately procured by Arbitration, for Government purposes.

It cannot be expected that such property will ever be lower in value than at the present period, but when built upon and the streets regularly extended must become enormously enhanced.

I have drawn the proposed acquisition of

premises at the very nearest limit it is practicable to construct the Glacis, and which will only preserve the approaches clear to view, about one hundred yards from the body of the work.

I trust His Excellency will either sanction immediate steps to be taken to procure the extent of ground and buildings in question for Government, or that he will be pleased to address the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, and the Master General, and the Honorable Board of Ordnance upon the subject.

His Lordship the Commander of the Forces being now in England affords a very favorable opportunity of referring the matter home, should there be any doubt on the propriety of effecting the object, without such references.

With the approval of His Excellency I propose submitting copies of this report, and plan to General Mann the Inspector General of Fortifications.

I have &c., &c., &c.,

E. W. DURNFORD,

Comg. Royal Engineer, Canada.

MEMORANDUM *shewing the supposed value of the Lots of Ground &c. required for Government Service near the Citadel, with the Proprietors' names.*

Major Van Cortlandt's property as it now stands.....	£ 3,500 .-. -
Hon. Judge Sewell's property,—only a part at the south end, containing about 13,284 ft. at 2/—per sq. ft...	1,328. 8.-
Mr. Clapham's property & House at the south end.....	2,500. .-. -
Hon. Mr. Smith's only a part of his property at south end, containing about 6050 ft. at 2/—per square foot.....	605. .-. -
Hon. Mr. Irvine's property only the part at the south end containing about 17,550 ft. at 2/—per sq. foot.....	1,755. .-. -
Mr. John Cannon's property containing about 9375 feet at 2/—per sq. foot..	937.10.-
Mr. Joseph Petitclaire's property and a two storey new House.....	1,800. .-. -
Mr. Gabriel Petitclaire's property forming two lots.....	1,400. .-. -
Mr. Charles Petitclaire's property—one lot.....	700. .-. -
Mr. Pierre Le Vasseur's property—one lot.....	700. .-. -
Mr. Pierre Marson's property—one lot.	700. .-. -

Currency....£15,925.18.0

Army Sterling....£14,788 .6.8 $\frac{3}{4}$

Amounting to Fifteen thousand, nine hundred and twenty five pounds eighteen shillings Currency—

or, Fourteen thousand seven hundred and eighty eight pounds six shillings and eight pence, three farthings Army Sterling.

E. W. DURNFORD, Lt. Colonel,
Comg. R. Eng.

LETTER, *The Earl of Dalhousie to Sir James
Kempt.*

QUEBEC, 22nd November 1827.
Thursday.

My dear Sir James,

In the hurry of business I catch at a leisure moment to-day, on the arrival of the Halifax Mail, to tell you that we are stuck fast on the threshold of business. On Tuesday the Parliament met, yesterday they presented Papineau as Speaker and in usual form was refused by me. The Commons were desired to return and choose another person and present him to-morrow (Friday) at 2 p.m. On return to their House, they passed a resolution that The King's approbation was not at all necessary and confirmed their own choice. To-day the House meets and intends to pass some violent resolutions, but to-morrow at 2 p.m. I shall direct the Chief Justice to declare the Parliament prorogued, before the Speaker elect is permitted to announce the persistence of the Commons in their choice.

My Precedents for proceeding are taken from Hatsell 1727, on the Speech of Sir — Onslow, and from the Proceedings under Sir John Wentworth at Halifax in 1806,—Also from Massachusetts in 1720, and from Charles 2nd, 1678. My Executive and Legislative Councils are unanimous in cordial support of these measures, as also the Chief Justice, Attorney and Solicitor General and here the matter shall go home to be decided by Superior Powers.

Nothing can be said on all this, but that Papineau commands the whole Canadian Representatives and that the Individual members, whether from ignorance or party feeling, have wholly resigned themselves to the will and bidding of the seditious Demagogue. Here I sincerely hope will be an end of Parliament in this Province, until the Imperial Parliament shall re-consider and compare the Speeches of Pitt and Fox with the experience we now have of 36 years of practice.

Last week I laid the foundation of a very magnificent column to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and I enclose you a copy of the ceremony for the sake of Dr. Mills' prayer, which has been highly admired. The Column will stand eminently conspicuous over the river, seen by every vessel that approaches the harbour, about 65 feet on a precipice of at least 300, and backed by some lofty trees and shrubbery—the situation will add prodigiously to the Monument. Public subscription has been very liberal and promise more.—I hope to finish my work, and with it all my labours here in June next.

With my kindest compliments and regards to all around you, the Chief Justice, Wallace &c., &c., &c.

Believe me, Ever yours most sincerely,

DALHOUSIE.

P.S.—It has just been determined by the Chief Justice and Attorney General to prorogue the Parliament this evening by Proclamation or Writ under the Seal.

LETTER, *Lord Dalhousie to Earl Bathurst.*

LONDON, 11th May 1825.

My Lord,

Before I left Quebec I was entrusted with a duty which I have not as yet ventured to perform from a feeling that other matters of public concern were entitled to my more immediate attention. As these have now been all brought under your Lordship's consideration, I beg you will permit me to lay the enclosed printed paper before you—it contains the Rules of a Society formed last year in Canada, and states very shortly the objects in view.

It gives me great pleasure to assure your Lordship that the proposal to form this Society was received by men of the highest respectability in all parts of the Canadas, with a warmth of feeling that gave perfect confidence in its future

success, and I have not the smallest doubt but that it will in time prove to be a most useful Institution.

At the first General Meeting I was deputed to solicit the high honour of His Majesty's Patronage. I am afraid I should not be justified by form in taking such a step, and I therefore beg leave to place the request in your Lordship's protection to obtain for us that Gracious mark of His Majesty's approbation.

At that General Meeting there was but one point upon which any difference of opinion was expressed and that was as to the style and name of the Society. Some members wished that it should be styled "The Quebec Literary and Historical Society"; others, that it should be more general "The Literary and Historical Society of Canada" but that point was reserved to be decided by such title as His Majesty shall be pleased to give to it.

I shall be happy to give your Lordship any further information which you may desire upon it; at present I will only express my most ardent desire to promote the views of this Society from the conviction that it will tend to advance sentiments of cordiality, feelings of public spirit, and a general co-operation of the best informed men in the Canadas, thus spreading a most beneficial influence over every source which can lead to the happiness and prosperity of the Country entrusted to my care.

I have the honour &c., &c.

DALHOUSIE.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC

In calling the attention of the Public to the "Literary and Historical Society of Quebec", we are relieved from the task of exordium on the general utility of such Institutions. That is so universally established, that every civilised State, with which we are acquainted has hastened to plant the Tree of knowledge in its own sod, and has invited the enlightened portion of its people to co-operate in fostering its growth to maturity.

Endeavouring to give to Literature in this Province a corporate character and representation, by the formation of a Literary and Historical Society at the seat of Government, it behooves us, shortly, to place before the Public the objects we seek to attain the certainties which serve to encourage our perseverance, and the advantages which we ardently anticipate from the prosperity of this Institution.

"The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec" owes its origin to the patriotic feeling and anxiety for the honor, welfare and interest of the Province, which characterise the present Governor in Chief. The Committee, animated by a similar spirit, and anxious to accomplish the same patriotic views have already proposed for

the approbation of the Public at large, such means and regulations as appeared to them best calculated to carry into effect the purposes of the Society, and to guard the intentions of its Founder and Patron from misapprehension and abuse.

Although it is intended that this Society shall hereafter embrace every object of Literary interest and inquiry—it has been considered expedient at present, and during its infancy, to confine our researches to the investigation of points of History, immediately connected with the Canadas. To procure and furnish the complete annals of the country may never be in our power; but we are persuaded it will soon be found within our reach to illustrate the most remarkable epochs of our history, and to place in strong relief their most interesting and singular details. It is conceived that the early History of Canada abounds in materials, full of striking descriptions and romantic situations. The very circumstance of civilisation transplanted from the old world, superseding the indigenous barbarism of the natives, and yet remaining long enough in contact with it to acquire even some degree of respect for the rude Tribes it subdued or converted, seems to present a strange and remarkable contrast, capable of exciting the utmost curiosity and interest.

The first and particular objects, therefore, of this Society will naturally be.—To discover, and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest History of Canada.

To preserve, while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositories; and which may prove important to general history, and to the particular history of this Province—documents valuable as regards the present and the future, and perhaps, still more interesting to our Inhabitants, as respects the decaying Indian Tribes, than any other object of enquiry.

The next and more general objects of this Society will be—To promote every means of discovering, collecting and procuring whatever information may throw light on the early Natural, Civil and Literary History of the British Provinces in North America. To further, by assistance from our funds when practicable, the translation and in some cases the publication of valuable Manuscripts, or scarce books, relating thereto, which may be discovered in any private or public collection: and, to encourage and reward such discoveries by every means in our power.

The objects which remain to be stated, are—To read at the general meetings of the society such papers on the subject above mentioned, as shall have been communicated by Members, and previously approved of by the Committee of management; and to make from these papers such a selection as it may hereafter become expedient to print as “The Transactions of the Society”.

We are greatly encouraged in our undertaking by the belief, nay, almost by the certainty, that

there does yet exist a mass of manuscript and printed documents, scattered through the country, in the possession of various religious bodies and of private persons, or thrown aside, utterly useless and uncared for, in the chests of Public offices. We cannot entertain a doubt, but such religious bodies and individuals will cheerfully contribute their assistance towards promoting the objects of this Society, by affording such documents for examination, and if necessary, for transcript.

We are also encouraged by the benefits to be derived from the innumerable Institutions of a similar nature in other countries, which have gone before us. We have the advantage of many Institutions of Learning already existing among us, of many men in the number of our citizens who are entitled to be called Learned; and above all, we have the powerful, the irresistible stimulus of an ardent and patriotic desire to imitate in this Colony the glorious example of the mother country.

The beneficial effects to be rationally anticipated from the prosperity of such a Society require no exaggerated description. It must strike every one that our objects are most desirable in themselves, inasmuch as they combine propagation of knowledge with the gratification of laudable curiosity; and the Augustan Poet who has so well extolled the union of the useful with the agreeable could not have contemplated any pursuit in which these qualities are more essentially combined than in Literature and History.

Whether we regard the prosperity of this Institution in a National or in a Literary point of view, its advantages are equally apparent, and most come home to every bosom. It will raise us in the moral and intellectual scale of nations. It will cherish our noblest feelings of honor and patriotism, by showing that the more men become acquainted with the history of their country, the more they prize and respect both their country and themselves. In a Literary point of view, it is fair to expect that the formation of this Society will introduce a lasting bond of union and correspondence between men, eminent for rank, erudition, and genius, from one extremity of the British Provinces to the other.

With these views, then we invite men of Learning and Taste to join us, and conclude by soliciting the assistance and co-operation of a liberal and enlightened Public, in the prosecution of a cause which may, in so many ways, conduce to the advancement of historical knowledge, and consequently, to the honor and ornament of this Province.

1824.

OFFICERS
OF THE
LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF QUEBEC
for the current year

FOUNDER AND PATRON,
His Excellency, the Rt. Honble.
GEORGE, EARL OF DALHOUSIE, G.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

PRESIDENT:
His Excellency the Honble.
Sir FRANCIS NATHANIEL BURTON, K.C.G.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
The Honble. The Chief Justice
VALLIERES DE ST. REAL, Esqr.

RECORDING SECRETARY
WILLIAM GREEN, Esqr.
TREASURER AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY:
JOHN CHARLTON FISHER, Esqr. LL.D.



JOINT MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM

CEREMONY ON LAYING THE FIRST STONE OF WOLFE'S AND MONTCALM'S PILLAR

15, NOVEMBER 1827

When we termed the ceremony of laying the first stone of this Monument an interesting and imposing scene, we only expressed the feeling universally acknowledged to prevail in the minds of the spectators. That seventy years should have nearly elapsed, without this well merited tribute to the success and military virtue of these two Heroes being paid to them by Posterity in this Province, must be attributed to the circumstances of a gradually rising Colony, whose attention to embellishment and the Arts can only be expected after years of prosperity, peace, and the accumulation of riches. Rome had been long victorious, before its heroes and patriots had leisure to adorn its Forum, with those edifices, whose magnificent remains are now the admiration of every beholder. Pericles, having enriched his country by years of prosperous administration, civil and military, betook himself to the embellishment of his native City. The family De Medici, did not excel in Arts, nor contribute to the classic riches of Florence, until a long course of commercial enterprise and success had elevated them from

Merchants to the rank of Princes. So it has been in all ages, that the Arts, as well as the Laws, have been silent during periods of war or commotion, nor has their voice been listened to, but under circumstances, when the human mind, withdrawn from the turmoil of active collision, has sought repose in the charming studies which elegant ease alone enables men to pursue with steadiness and effect. Even among our immediate neighbors, the people of the United States, it is only within very few years that any public tribute, or classical memorial, has been thought of, to testify the common admiration of the world, directed to the memory of Washington. The chisel of Canova, and the hand of Chantrey have only still more lately been employed on a national work of this kind. Indeed, there seems to be something of morbid feeling, in this propensity of mankind to neglect public tokens of gratitude to great men.

Qui sui memores alias fecêre merendo.

During the age which witnessed their deeds, and benefitted most by their services. It is the consciousness of this fact, which has directed the views of illustrious men more to the certainty of posthumous fame, than to present celebrity and popular applause. And this feeling is part of the divine inspiration, that immortal spirit, which more or less is the animating principle of great souls; but which the grosser impressions of mankind, in the main envious and detracting, have derogated by calling ambition. Rewards, there-

fore, of a purely classical nature have generally been conferred by posterity; and the experience of ages has demonstrated, that as there is nothing more honorable to the age which confers them, so there is nothing more lasting than the Fame, perpetuated by these monuments. Well, indeed, did the Poet feel this truth, and it must be given in his own language to have its full effect, when he prophetically enumerated,

*Incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem Ducibus.*

On this occasion, the presence of Mr. Thompson, the venerable companion in arms of Wolfe, was a connecting link between the age which witnessed his glory, and that which now erects a Monument to his Fame—while one here remained who fought with him, that age was not quite extinct—the next has taken charge of the deposit, and pledged itself to its sacred keeping by the ceremony which we have now to detail.

The Garrison was formed in double line facing inwards, their right reaching to the foot of the Glacis, as has been before stated, and their left near the Chateau Guard House. The Masonic Procession, with Claude Denechau Esq. Right Worshipful Grand Master, at their head, the Officers comprising the Grand Lodge in full masonic costume, the Merchants and Freres du Canada, the Sussex and the St. Andrew's Lodges, reached the Chateau, preceded by the Band of the 66th Regi-

ment; and entering the lower Garden through the Chateau Yard, lined each side of the principal walk, through which the Countess of Dalhousie, attended by Lady Noel Hill, Mrs. Sewell, Mrs. Gore and other Ladies, reached the platform of the Battery. In the meantime His Excellency the Governor in Chief, attended by the Chief Justice, the Lord Bishop, the Committee, and the Staff, entered the Garden by the Gate, having passed through the avenue of Troops from the Chateau, receiving the usual honours His Excellency, having first conducted Lady Dalhousie to a station more convenient for witnessing the ceremony, placed himself in front of the Stone, and in a clear and audible tone, spoke as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled upon an occasion most interesting to this country — if possible more so to this city — We are met to lay the Foundation of a Column in honor of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall have immortalized their own names and placed Quebec in the rank of cities famous in the history of the world.

Before, however, we touch the first stone, let us implore the blessing of Almighty God upon our intended work”.

The Revd. Dr. Mills, Chaplain to the Forces, then offered up the following prayer.

PRAYER

O Almighty Lord of Heaven and Earth! without whose blessing no work of man can prosper, look

down, we beseech Thee, with an eye of favour upon this our undertaking. We know, O Lord! that, unless Thou buildest the fabric, their labour is but lost that built it; and therefore we humbly pray, that this Column, which we are about to erect in honour of those distinguished Warriors, whose names it is destined to bear, may transmit their Fame to distant ages, uninjured by flood or by flame, unseathed by the Thunder's rending bolt, or the mining shock of the Earthquake. May no assault of foreign foe, no dangerous division within our walls, loosen one stone from the structure; but may it long—long rear its head in simple majesty, the brightest gem and ornament of our city.

It hath pleased Thee, O Lord! in thy good Providence, in a great degree to tranquillize the world; there is a great calm in the Universe: Thou hast said to the desolating tide of human Warfare—"Peace, be still; hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed!" We pray, O Lord! most humbly and heartily do we pray,—that this happy state of things may continue and abound more and more, till—every source of discord dried up—every jarring interest harmonised—the heavenly influence of the glorious Gospel—that Charter of Love and Mercy to the whole human race—be universally "Peace on earth, good will toward men", which ushered in the Nativity of the Saviour, find a ready echo in every bosom; and the blessed time

at length arrive, when the sword shall be turned into the plow-share, and the spear into the pruning hook—when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But of this hour—now seen afar off only in indistinct vision, knoweth no man: In the meantime O Lord! the wrath of man shall praise Thee, while the reminder of wrath it is—and will be—thy province to restrain.

Meanwhile also, O Lord! we humbly hope and trust, that we are not forbidden to pray, even amidst all the pomp and glitter of military parade, by which we are surrounded, in behalf of these our Brethren—with an anxious concern for their honour as Soldiers, while we feel for their salvation as Men—that the great Examples of the illustrious dead, whom we this day hold out as patterns for their imitation, may now and ever be regarded by them with an ardent desire to emulate their worth. Yes! Soldiers, Friends, and Brethren we implore the God of Armies, that should the battle once more be set in array against you, you may—each of you—buckle on your harness, in humble—yet well-grounded—confidence in the Divine protection with no terrors of an evil conscience to appal you in the hour of peril—no besetting sin to unnerve your arm, and render it powerless in the conflict. Thus prepared—thus strengthened with might by the spirit in the inner man—should you fall, my Brethren! you will fall in glory; you will look forward, with the eye of faith, beyond the grave, to

a brighter crown—a fairer wreath, than Monarchs can bestow; and this Faith, triumphant over death and all its agonies, will enable you, more than anything else, to evince, even amidst the severest struggles of expiring Nature, the same heroic Resignation, the same loyal devotedness to your King, and glowing attachment to your Country which blazed forth—like the Sun's last flash before its setting—with such unextinguishable lustre, in the breasts of these departed Warriors.

Grant, O Lord! of Thine infinite Mercy grant, that such, wherever duty calls them, may be the genuine feelings of British Soldiers; that their Patriotism, their Loyalty and their Valour, may be founded upon Religion as the best and surest basis: and with these feelings deeply rooted in our own breasts, let us pray for our Country—all great and glorious as she is—assured that they that love her shall prosper. Peace be within her walls and plenteousness within her palaces. For our brethren and companions' sakes, we will wish her prosperity. And seeking—and not seeking only, but striving to do her good and to advance her glory by every means in our power, do Thou, O God! prosper the work of our hands upon us: O prosper Thou our handywork! Amen and Amen”.

Captain Melnuish, R.E. then deposited gold, silver and copper coins of the present reign, in a cavity prepared in the foundation stone, over which a plate with the following inscription, by the Rev. Dr. Mills, was firmly rivetted.

Hunc Lapidem
Monumenti in Memoriam
Virorum Illustrum
WOLFE ET MONTCALM
Fundamentum
P. C.

Georgius Comes De Dalhousie,
In Septentrionalis Americæ Partibus
Ad Britannos Pertinentibus
Summam Rerum Administrans;
Opus Per Multos Annos Præ termissum,
(Quid Duci Egregio Convenientius ?)
Auctoritate Promovens, Exemplo Stimulans,
Munificentîâ Fovens.
Die Novembris XVâ.
A. S. MDCCCXXVII
Georgio IV Britanniarum Rege.

The ceremony finished, as we stated on Thursday, with a feu de joie from the Garrison, after which the Garrison presented Arms, the Band playing the National Air. Three British Cheers then rent the air, given by the Troops and spectators to the memory of British Valour, and French Gallantry. The Troops on their return to their Barracks passed the Commander in Chief in review order, which concluded the ceremonies of the day.

WOLFE

The following is Smollett's character of General Wolfe: at the present moment its re-perusal may be interesting to our Readers.

“The death of General Wolfe was a national loss, universally lamented. He inherited from nature an animating fervor of sentiment, an intuitive perception, an extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. This noble warmth of disposition seldom fails to call forth and unfold the liberal virtues of the soul. Brave, above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane; the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier: there was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would without doubt have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity”.

WOLFE'S TACTICS

(*By the Editor*)

An important historical letter, written by Wolfe to Monckton—his second in command—, dealing with his operations at Quebec in 1759, was auctioned at London, on July 14th 1924. The letter shows Wolfe's masterly grasp of detail, his high courage, and sense of responsibility when deciding on where he was to attack Quebec.

The letter was written a few days before the "Battle of the Plains", and was the last letter written by Wolfe; closing with the following words*:

"I had the honour to inform you today, that it is my duty to attack the French Army to the best of my knowledge and abilities; I have fixed upon the spot ("Taelon") where we can act with most force, and are most likely to succeed:—if I am mistaken, I am sorry for it, and must be answerable to his Majesty and the publick for the consequences"

Wolfe's letter to Monckton indicates that when he had found a possible point of attack near Quebec where he was able to concentrate most force, at a point where he had no reason to believe the

* This last letter of Wolfe's, is given in full in "The Siege of Quebec", by Dr. A. G. Doughty.

French had any knowledge of, he decided to act promptly. It seems proven that Montcalm also had recognized this place as most dangerous, and with his military knowledge and acumen had placed his well disciplined French soldiers, to guard against Wolfe reaching the upper level, by scaling the Cliff at *the only feasible place near Quebec*, and which these two great Generals knew to be the weakest point in the defence of Quebec:—better, it may be presumed—than it is possible to determine now; even when standing on the actual Battle-field—as time has so changed the entire surroundings, from what they were, over one hundred and fifty years before, that one cannot judge as clearly today, as those two opposing Commanders had judged, both of whom regarded “the Plains” near Quebec, as *the place* where the destiny of Canada would be decided.

When we recall, that the entire district surrounding Quebec was in those days, covered with dense forest, with only two poor roads cut through the woods, and that the French forces were in control of all the Quebec shore, from the Montmorency river at the East, to Pointe aux Trembles—twenty-five miles to the West of Quebec,—with French troops there and at Montreal, with his great antagonist Montcalm in the strong-hold of Quebec. Can we deem it wise for any Commander—under such circumstances—to endeavour to establish his forces at Pointe aux Trembles, (where even small boats cannot reach the shore, except

when the tide is high, and where the beach is strewn with immense boulders—plainly visible to this day—which render the passage extremely dangerous, even during daylight.) Placing his army between the enemy forces, subject to simultaneous attack on both sides hemmed in with heavy woods, the Jacques-Cartier river, and the St-Lawrence:—away from any support from the Fleet, he surely would be in a most hazardous position, and very possibly have been defeated.

Wolfe's Tactics, in having the vessels, carrying his troops and guns, sail up the river as if going to Pointe aux Trembles, evidently deceived the French Governor,—Vaudreuil, who ordered the withdrawal of the trained French troops, that were specially placed by Montcalm to guard the Cliff, thus leaving the ascent to the heights undefended by trained men, and before Montcalm could retrieve the error made by Vaudreuil, Wolfe had reached the Plains, with men and guns, and Quebec—the *Key to Canada*, was won by British Arms, in the "Battle of the Plains".

It should not be necessary to detract from the honour, or fame of either of these eminent men, in the attempt to exalt the other:—let us more worthily, continue to honour and esteem the Brave Dead, to whose memory a joint—monument has been erected at Quebec, to ever recall the friendship existing between the two great Nations, represented in the past by two such worthy and unsullied men: Wolfe and Montcalm!

The following is an extract, from the address by Lord Dalhousie, on laying the foundation of the "Joint-Monument" erected to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, on the 15th of November 1827:

"Gentlemen of the Committee, we are assembled on an occasion most interesting to this Country, and if possible, even more interesting to this City:—We are met to lay the foundation of a column in honour of two illustrious men, whose deeds and whose fall, have immortalized their own names, and placed Quebec in the rank of Cities famous in the history of the world".

The following is an extract from a letter, dated 22nd November 1827 to Sir James Kempt, from Lord Dalhousie:

"Last week I laid the foundation of a very magnificent Column, to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, and I enclose you a copy of the Ceremony..... The Column will stand eminently conspicuous over the river, seen by every vessel that approaches the harbour, about 65 feet high, on a precipice of at least 300 feet, backed by some trees and shrubbery:—the situation will add prodigiously to the Monument".

ANECDOTE OF WOLFE'S ARMY

Landing at Louisbourg, and incidents previous thereto, as related by one of the Grenadier Company of Fraser's Highlanders who was a Volunteer in that service.

Our Regiment, which was only just formed, rendez-voued at Cork, there to embark for service, somewhere in North America. We did not know where. The transport our Company was embarked in was called the "Martello", a beautiful new ship, this was her first voyage. The Captain did not know her trim, and the first few days after our sailing, she would run away from the Commodore in no time, in spite of our shortning sail, and for this high offence, which the Captain could not help, we had frequently a shot fired after us, to make the ship keep under the wing of the Commodore,—this, however, did no further mischief than subject the Captain to a fine of 6/8d. for each shot. One day we had a fine stiff breeze, and our ship actually outsailed the whole of the Fleet, although only under bare poles,—When the Commodore saw this, he found that it was no fault of the Captain's and he made him pay no more 6/8ds for shot. The ship was so tight that

she did not require pumping the whole of the voyage, which was a lucky circumstance indeed. We at last discovered the Commodore's signal for the whole of the Fleet to heave to, and when we had done this as cleverly as we could, the next signal was for Commanding Officers of Corps to go on board the Commodore's ship.—This was to make known our destination, and to receive orders accordingly. We were not long without knowing that we were bound to Halifax, as good luck would have it, the Fleet all arrived safe. Soon after we had cast our anchor, the Captain was anxious to try the lightness of our ship, and gave orders to have her pumped, the men had much difficulty in getting the pumps to draw, and when at last the water came, it was as black as my bonnet, and produced such a stench, that it would soon have poisoned all the men on board,—it happened that instead of pumping out, they were obliged to pump in, to prevent the Troops getting sick. When we arrived at Halifax, we learned our Commander in Chief General Wolfe was there, busily employed drilling away the men, and making them fight sham battles at a place round the town called Deptford where the ground is flat. We were not long lying at Halifax when we received orders to set sail for the River St. Lawrence and in a few days we came to anchor opposite the Harbour of Louisbourg, which we knew it was our business to try and take. When all the troops were got into the flat bottomed boats that the General had

provided at Halifax, and which we brought along with us, we presently after saw the signal from the General's barge which was between us and the land, to push off towards shore,—now as our Grenadier Company was very strong, we were so closely packed together, that there was only room to stand up excepting in the back part of the boat where the Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers contrived to sit down on the stern sheets, and this left no room for rowing, but we were taken in tow by a boat from a 74 and commanded by a Lieutenant whose name I could never get at—all this time the French were peppering us from a six Gun Battery on the heights with canister shot, and musket balls fired from 24 pounders!—they came whistling about our ears nothing could be like it, and as our ships of War kept up a fire upon the Batteries to cover our landing, there was a terrible hullabaloo! one 24 pound shot did us a great deal of mischief; it passed under my hams and killed Sergeant McKenzie who was sitting as close to my left as he could squeeze, and it carried away the basket of his broad-sword which, along with the shot, passed through Lieutenant Cuthbert who was on McKenzie's left, and tore his body into shivers, and also cut off both the legs of one of the two fellows that held the tiller of the boat, who lost an astonishing quantity of blood and died with the tiller grasped tight in his hand!—after doing all this mischief, the shot stuck fast in the stern-post—although this shot did not touch

me, yet all over the hams of my thighs and the calves of my legs were affected, and became as black as my hat, and for some weeks I suffered a good deal of pain, but that was nothing, what affected me most was the loss of my Captain, poor fellow, who was my best friend, and for whose sake I volunteered to come away from Scotland—Captain Baillie!—he was also in the boat, on the side opposite to me, and as he merely leaned over his head in a gentle manner upon the shoulder of the man next to him, I had no idea that he had been touched, but merely that it was to avoid the shot that was coming so thick upon us, and so thought the other man also, but he was struck mortally and expired without the least struggle! Whilst we were in this sad predicament I had my eye on the boat that was towing us, anxious that she should get us forward as fast as possible when I observed a fellow fumbling some time at the painter of our boat, without my knowing what he was at, but at last he takes a clasp-knife out of his pocket, and cut the rope, and away the boat went, leaving us as a mark for the French Batteries to fire at—this, I suppose was because they were losing their own men also—as good luck would have it, our situation was soon noticed by one of our Frigates, from which two boats were sent to our relief, and into which we embarked and had no sooner left our flat-bottomed vessel than she sank down to the gunnel, which was caused by the men withdrawing their plaids from out of the

shot holes into which they had thrust them whenever we were struck between wind and water—the weight of the shot that stuck in her, also helped a good deal to sink her—in this state she was towed alongside the Frigate, and I understood was hoisted aboard and taken home to England as a great curiosity, for she was completely riddled with shot holes, and yet nearly a bucketful of musket balls and other small shot was taken out of her—had there been any other Troops than Highlanders in our situation, they must have gone to the bottom, for want of such a ready means of plugging up the shot holes as we carried about us in our plaids. One poor fellow suffered exceeding great pain which distressed us all, he was the right hand man of the Company, he received a shot in the thigh, which immediately swelled up to the highness of his body, the idea was that the shot was poisoned, the poor devil bawl'd out the whole time that the boat was towing towards the Frigate, and when they were going to put him in the slings to hoist him on board his agony was so great, that he expired on the gunnel of the boat! Well, as I was relating to you about the landing, we were put into fresh boats and under the covering-fire of our ships of War, we at last got landed on the west side of the Town, although we were nearly swamp'd in the surf and we had to wait a considerable time, until some axe-men were got to cut a passage for us through the abattis that lined the beach for about three miles long, to

oppose our landing. With a great deal of difficulty we got to the top of the rock, and on our way to join the main Army, we came to the Battery that did us so much mischief, but it was deserted, there was only one man found, and he had his head carried away, yet he held firm hold of a lighted lint-stock which one of our Highlanders tried in vain to force out of his grasp. Our Fleet, as it seemed to me from the high shore made a noble appearance, and looked as if the bowsprit of every one was made fast to the stern of the next to it, they stretched across the whole Harbour.

NOTE:—This is the style, phrase, and very words of old Thompson in Quebec now in his 90th year; he was a Sergeant in Fraser's Highlanders under Wolfe, and has recounted to me many such stories, with astonishing recollection and accuracy of detail.

“D”

May 1828.

THE LARGEST VESSEL IN THE WORLD

Built in Quebec in 1824. "On the 21st day of July 1824, the four masted vessel *Columbus*, was launched from the Ship-yard at the Island of Orleans—in the Harbour of Quebec—and said to be the largest ship ever built—(at that date). The *Columbus* measured 301 feet 6 inches in length, and 50 feet 7 inches in width; with a depth of 29 feet 4 inches.

This vessel is to have a crew of ninety men, and is expected to carry 9,000 tons of freight. The largest vessel in the English Navy was then said, to have a keel measurement of about 210 feet.



Camouflaged Vessel, 1916.

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UNIQUE QUEBEC

UNIQUE QUEBEC

A *VADE-MECUM*
for VISITING FELLOWS *of the*
ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

and
MEMBERS *of the* CANADIAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

BY
WILLIAM WOOD
F.R.S.C.



With the Compliments of the
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec

1924

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LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC

A GREETING TO THE R.S.C. AND C.H.A.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, now celebrating its Centennial year, welcomes the Royal Society of Canada and the Canadian Historical Association with this little summary of those first, or last, or only things which have combined of make Quebec unique, not merely in the Province, the Dominion, or even the Empire itself, but, on several great occasions, in the world. Designed for the personal use of Fellows, Members, and their friends, this paper claims no other real distinction except that which it must derive from being addressed to such an audience of the fit, though few. But, strange to say, it also seems to enjoy the distinction of being the sole attempt that has ever been made to select, arrange, and incidentally explain what really is unique in this old City of Quebec—to the complete exclusion of everything, however important, that is not unique.

UNIQUE QUEBEC

BY

WILLIAM WOOD

F.R.S.C.

We all know the proverbial tourist so aptly satirised by C.S.C.

Round go the paddle wheels;
And now the tourist feels
As he should.

Well, average tourists are still the same; except, indeed, that, since ultra-modern tourists revel in a rapidity of locomotion unknown to C.S.C., they get an even more gloriously blurred impression of all they hurry past, but never really see, feel, know, or understand. For these the usual guidebook is simply forced to provide the usual fare, cut off into lengths suitable for purchasers and super-abundantly sweetened to taste. Moreover, it supplies the most appropriate kind of ready-made criticism, by carefully mentioning the supposed market value of everything civilised enough to be worth special mention in the language of dollars and cents.

But Quebec has other visitors: "the fit, though few" that really do see, and feel, and know, and even understand; the fit though few that reap the harvest of a quiet eye among those many scenes of "Nature's old felicities" which throne and which encircle this New-World queen of stronghold cities; the fit though few that also can

appreciate what man has done to make her quite unique.

For these her story is, of course, an open book—or, at least, a book they all know how to open and to read. Therefore I do not presume to attempt even the most condensed epitome of Quebec's long and very complex story here. The humbler purpose of my little paper is simply to put before you a convenient little catalogue of those few compelling facts which have made Quebec unique in French, British, Canadian, American, and even world-wide history. Most of these facts belong to the past. But some are still so full of life that they are bound to be prime factors in more than one great problem of the future.

Needless, I hope, to say that, since even catalogues of barest facts may suffer from perversion, I try to compile this little one in the spirit of an impartial historian who takes an interest in all sides. Needless, however, to repeat that "unique" here means whatever is either the first, or the last, or the only thing of its kind in at least the history of Canada. Perhaps my net has taken some small fry. Yet there must be something well worth while in any comprehensive haul made out of such a teeming sea; for I fish the Province, as well as the City, whenever the subject seems to warrant it. Therefore I venture to lay it all before you now, conveniently sorted into the following five lots: I. FORERUNNERS OF THE R.S.C., II. CHURCH. III. STATE. IV. WAR. V. MISCELLANEOUS.

I. FORERUNNERS OF THE R.S.C.

This may well seem an unduly grandiose title; and one that should not, in any case, be applied to a mere city, or even a province, in connection with our Royal Society, which draws its life from the whole Dominion. And I of course admit that Quebec may be provincial, and provincial-minded too, as well as proudly Provincial, with a capital P, and a glorious history of her own. But our present theme is not concerned with the common human failings that all communities must have, nor with the special petty failings that every small community must develop in its own small way; while it is concerned with all those first, or last, or only things which have somehow made Quebec unique during certain curious phases of her intellectual life.

And might I kindly be excused for adding that there is one Provincial venture in the intellectual life of present-day Quebec which the Province hopes will never be unique? This venture is the official establishment of substantial money prizes for works of special merit produced by its own Provincials. In this connection I should

likewise add that works in English are offered a rather higher proportion of these prizes than a meticulous anxiety for "Rep-by-Pop" would warrant. Thus, when I talk of our "five centuries" you will perhaps admit the present one, on sufferance, with the rest.

Our Royal Society still has some years to live before it celebrates its jubilee. But the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec was founded more than one whole century ago; and, though it is the senior learned society in the whole of the British Empire overseas, yet the junior of its own forerunners in Quebec was older than the R.S.C. is now when the "Lit." itself was born. Nor is this all. There was a learned society in Quebec under the French régime; and one, moreover, that was trying to do then very much the same sort of work that our own scientific sections are doing now. This third and last of our regularly organized forerunners would, if still alive, be more than four times as old as our own forty-two years of age.

But if we reckon, as perhaps we may, two very remarkable sets of men as being also true forerunners of those who live the intellectual life to-day, though neither set was organized into any kind of society such as the R.S.C., then our Quebec forerunners can be traced back, fourthly, to those leaders of New France who, like Frontenac, knew the intellectual life of Old France two centuries and a half ago, and, fifthly, to those still earlier leaders, like Champlain and the Jesuits, who, on

either side of just three centuries ago, wrote books, which, had we then existed, would certainly have qualified their authors for election to the R.S.C.

Let me now submit a few justifying details to prove Quebec unique on every one of these five counts.

(1). The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec (commonly called the "Lit.") was founded on the 6th of January, 1824, by Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor-in-chief, who, in the previous year, had asked both French- and English- speaking leaders "to join efforts with me in the formation of a Society, not entirely 'Antiquarian' but Historical rather and Canadian. . . . Why should not we attempt something. . . . likely to prove interesting to our country when our time has passed away? Our meetings may embrace Literature, Science, Education. . . . Our hall of meeting shall be in one of the rooms of the old Château until a better can be found". Dalhousie's own subscription was four hundred dollars a year. The Society also "experienced the liberality of the Provincial Legislature", off and on, down to the end of the nineteenth century, chiefly on the understanding that the money should be spent on the publication of appropriate archives. Another society "for the encouragement of Arts and Sciences in Canada" was subsequently founded. But in 1829 this was amalgamated with the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, which, two years later, was granted a Royal Charter by King William IV. In the present century, after the

complete cessation of all grants from Government, a small endowment, totalling under twenty thousand dollars, was raised. Over three-fourths of this was due to the generosity of Dr. James Douglas, a former President. For the rest, the Society depends upon its two hundred and fifty members at only five dollars a year, and on the excellent free quarters provided by the Corporation of Morrin College, whose own building, now no longer used as a college, was once the jail of Quebec, where public executions took place till 1864.

The Society has always comprised members of both races, and it has published many documents in both languages. Most of its members, however, have always belonged to the very small English-speaking population of Quebec. The Centenary Volume, to be published during the present year, will be the fiftieth produced by the wholly unpaid labour of those members who do the editorial work. The present value of some, at least, among these fifty volumes may be judged from the fact that, in spite of the progress of modern research, the purely Archival Index to their contents comprises more than three thousand references copied verbatim from the card-index entries made for the Quebec Provincial Archives. Every single item that was found to be imperfect in itself, or to have been superseded by better editions elsewhere, was entirely omitted, except for the significant entry: *Of no archival importance*. So, when we also remember that this index was finished only one

year ago, we can see how the Society's work for one hundred years has stood the test of time.

The library of the "Lit." contains about fifty thousand volumes. These are rather miscellaneous on the whole, ranging from bluebooks and learned exchanges to at least some of the current season's froth. But the really good authors (good fiction included) both living and dead, are duly represented; while the rare works on Canada, with a few of other kinds, make a quite goodly collection of their own. Some fine volumes in the Aylwin department upstairs date back to the sixteenth century. Among those of the early seventeenth is a long array of folios containing the Lords' and Commons' Journals, partly in manuscript; while the Imperial Parliamentary Debates, in seventy volumes, range from 1660 to 1830. Of more local interest are the Land Warrants (1764-67) in the only official copy known; the original manuscript copy of the *Rôle Général de la Milice Canadienne* who were reviewed at Quebec on the 11th of September, 1775, when Montgomery and Arnold were invading the Province; and the original journal kept by James Thompson, who was a Highland volunteer under Wolfe, who was Overseer of Works when Carleton fortified Quebec, and who, living to well-nigh a hundred, also knew Dalhousie. Here, too, are the original minutes of the Agricultural Society of Quebec in 1789; also a fairly complete set of *The Quebec Gazette*, which, founded in 1764 and still appearing as the *Chronicle*, is by far the oldest paper in the whole of Canada. Per-

haps the most valuable single item is the quite perfect *L’Affaire du Canada*, which contains all the documents connected with the trial of the infamous Intendant Bigot and his infamous associates. These five volumes, partly in manuscript, are certainly the only complete collection in all America. Whether France has such a complete original record is not at present known.

The “Lit.” was obliged to give up its natural history museum for want of room. But it still has a few objects of a different kind that are, in their way, unique:—for instance, the handle of the first printing press in Quebec and Canada; also the whole of the last pillory used in connection with the jail; also Sir Georges Cartier’s desk, at which many Confederation matters were arranged; and fourthly, the builder’s model, as well as the original picture, of the *Royal William*, a Quebec-built vessel, which, being doubly unique in the history of the whole world, must be more fully described under another heading. Finally, as every historical collection in Quebec has some souvenirs of war, those at the “Lit.”, though few, are worthy of some special note, because they range from a piece of the vessel from which Wolfe directed his attack against the heights near Montmorency to the original Canadian model made for actual use in the great attack on Vimy Ridge. Perhaps, too, the “Lit.” may well be pardoned for the pride it takes in knowing that, throughout the whole century of its existence, there has never been a British war in which some members have not borne

their part, and that no less than three of the six senior fighting Generals of the whole Canadian army at the end of the Great World War were also members of the "Lit." These were Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Turner, Major-General Sir David Watson, and Major-General Sir Henry Burstall.

(2). Our second, and older, R.S.C. forerunner was the Quebec Library Association, which was founded in 1779 and amalgamated with the "Lit." in 1838, to the great advantage of all concerned on both sides.

(3). The third, and still older, Quebec forerunner of the R.S.C. was the *Académie des Sciences* formed by the Comte de la Galissonnière, who was devoted to the study of all that then went under the name of natural history. During his too short administration of New France (1747-49) he fostered collection and research by every means in his power. Under his most stimulating patronage Canon Gosselin sent a regular herbarium to Paris, Dr. Lacroix sent seeds and metals, including some Lake Superior copper, Father Lafiteau found the Canadian variety of ginseng, Dr. Gaultier gave his own name to winter green, and Dr. Sarrazin sent to the parent Académie des Sciences a valuable series of notes on many of the most important Canadian mammals. Altogether, we might well surmise that La Galissonnière would have been *persona gratissima* with every Fellow of the R.S.C., and with its scientific sections most of all.

Here perhaps it may be excusable to say that

the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec might well claim a modest share in the national honour of establishing a famous service to which so many members of our scientific sections have always belonged — no less than the Geological Survey of Canada; for it was on the consideration of a petition from this Society to the Government in 1841 that Parliament voted fifteen hundred pounds, Halifax currency, to make the first official survey of all the natural resources to be found in both the Canadas. Members of the present Survey may smile at the disproportion between the little means afforded and the vast ends sought. But the embryo was there.

And would it be permissible to add that the “Lit” was at least partly responsible for the founding of the Historic Landmarks Association, in connection with the Quebec Tercentenary of 1908; and that it may thus claim a grandpaternal interest in the Canadian Historical Association, which is the offspring of the H.L.A.?

(4). You will remember that I promised you a forerunner of more than two centuries and a half ago. But I also warned you that this forerunner would not be any kind of regularly organized association. It consisted, in fact, of only the few congenial spirits that gathered round Frontenac at the Château St. Louis. Of course there were a few individuals outside this circle who might have had at least equal claims to sharing the intellectual life of that time; and there was at least an equally brilliant little social circle round

Tracy and Courcelle some years before. But Frontenac's circle, and more especially Frontenac himself, come nearest to forming a coterie having some direct relations with the arts and sciences of France. The usual histories treat Frontenac only as a soldier-statesman; and when they mention his intellectual tastes at all it is only because these tastes helped to intensify his quarrels with the Church. They may mention that he had a little private theatre set up in the Château, where something like garrison theatricals amused his little social world on winter evenings. They sometimes quote Bishop Saint-Vallier's denunciation of a certain class of comedies: *absolument mauvaises et criminelles d'elles-mêmes, comme pourrait être la comédie de Tartuffe*. And they generally put in the usual tag about *les Divines*, because Saint-Simon and Madame de Sévigné supply ready-made references to *les Divines*, and because one of the two *Divines*, la comtesse de Frontenac, lived apart from her husband, and so gives scope for the usual wonderings why.

But less emphasis is laid, if laid at all, on the fact that the comtesse de Frontenac and Mdlle. d'Outrelaise were in fairly close touch with the best intellectual, as well as the best social, life of Paris; and hardly any reference is ever made to the far more cogent fact that Frontenac himself was far more intimately connected with the intellectual life than were both of these *Divines* together. Not only could he turn a set of apposite French verses as well as all except the very best of courtly

poets but he was the most intimate habitué in the very intellectual circle that gathered round his favourite sister's husband, the Seigneur de Montmort, a true Mæcenas of the most enlightened kind. Montmort was one of the original forty who formed the French Academy. It was at his house that Molière first read *Le Tartufe*. There too were first discussed, from inside personal knowledge, many another work of literature that has since become a classic. Nor was this all. Montmort took an equally deep interest in the fine arts and in science. His friendship with Gassendi is well known. And was again at his famous house that Colbert chose the original members of the first Academy of Sciences. On the whole, I feel quite sure that Frontenac might well have been an F.R.S.C., as well as our official patron; and I incline to think that each one of our five sections would have found him a really kindred spirit.

(5). Here, with our first non-organized forerunners, I might stop. But perhaps it is at least excusable to mention Champlain and the authors of the *Jesuit Relations*, thus carrying back the intellectual life of Quebec to over three hundred years. Of course the Jesuits were not the first educated men who landed at Quebec; for the devoted Récollets preceded them; Champlain preceded the Récollets; and Jacques-Cartier preceded Champlain. Equally of course, the Jesuits were not professed exponents of the intellectual life, in the strictly modern sense, at all. They came as missionaries. They taught as priests. And

what they wrote was propaganda. But, incidentally, they were indirect historians, occasionally writing with a genuine literary touch. Some of them would have been very welcome in our Section I, with the full approval of our Section II; while (considering time, place, people, and restricted opportunities) their knowledge of mathematics, physics, and chemistry was not unlike an early-seventeenth-century equivalent of what is now more fully known to Section III; their remarks on geology and mineralogy bring them, with the same limitations, into touch with Section IV; and, even though with greater limitations still, their notes on natural history give them some kinship with our Section V.

Finally, Champlain and Jacques Cartier. We are not accustomed to regard Jacques Cartier as the first Canadian author. But that is what he was; and, within his self-appointed limits, a very good first author too. His admirably clear and vivid descriptions bring him fairly near to the very few authors who have written books of travel that are also works of literature; while his hydrographic notes (difference of period and of opportunities duly considered) are fully equal to those made by the greatest naval experts of the present day.

Jacques Cartier takes us back to a (shall I say posthumous?) F.R.S.C. of nearly four centuries ago; and he, please remember, would have also been a Fellow from unique Quebec, his domicile in Canada. Champlain of course is likewise a posthumous F.R.S.C.; but likewise not, emphat-

ically not, *Honoris Causa*; for he, more even than Jacques Cartier, would have been entirely eligible from his books alone. We all remember him as the founder of Quebec, New France, and Canada. But this should not obscure his other merits. We are apt to forget, some even never know, that he was a Captain in the Royal Navy of the north of France and a highly skilled hydrographer. We are also apt to give him less than his intellectual due as the author of books which happily combine the exact knowledge of the professional seaman and trained explorer with the exalting prevision of a pioneering coloniser and founder of a state. May I also remind you that he was the first to recommend the cutting of a Panama Canal?

In this brief glance at our forerunners I speak—as I speak all through this little paper—under correction from those whose knowledge is better than mine. But I venture to think that Quebec is quite unique in being the only place in Canada, and probably the only place throughout the whole New World, where authors whose works are still alive have spent at least some pregnant part of their careers in five successive centuries—from Jacques Cartier's to our own.

II. CHURCH

(1). The celebrated Quebec Act of 1774 created a situation which is still apparently unique in the whole world's history of church and state. Everybody knows what established churches are, and disestablished churches, and non-established churches too. We also know that an inevitable result of church establishment is some kind of directly responsible contact with the civil power. Every established church that ever has existed, or that exists to-day, has had, in one way or another, to reckon with the worldly powers of the state—either with an autocrat, or with an oligarchy, with a parliament, or perhaps with revolution. But here, in this Province of Quebec, is apparently the only church in history, which, though not established, is specifically recognized, and in such a way as practically to give it nearly all the rights and privileges of an established church, but—and here's the unique effect—none of the direct responsibilities. There are, of course, indirect responsibilities and many points of contact with the civil power. But, for a century and a half (1774-1924) there have been no real church-and-state debates in any parliament: none in the Provincial Houses, none in those of the Dominion, none even in those Imperial Houses from which this Act originally came.

There is some need of definition here, lest there should be misunderstandings. The Roman Catholic Church is one throughout the world. There are other than French-Canadian Roman Catholics in Quebec. And other forms of religion in Quebec enjoy similar tax-exemptions on property used in similar ways. Moreover, the whole question is so complex, when all its varied implications are involved, that these few sentences may seem absurd to those who know how many books might well be filled with facts and explanations. But, since the peculiar historical interest of the Quebec Act, coupled with its present-day effects, is only to be found, from first to last, among the French-Canadians, I am obliged to isolate them here, from the other children of their Church, in order to point the moral of my tale—which tale and moral are greatly to the honour of their Church.

For consider what the privileged position of this Church has been within this Province during the last three hundred years. Three hundred years ago exactly the Jesuits in France first heard the call sent to them by the Récollets in Canada. How well that call was answered is known to everyone. Presently Richelieu made up his unifying mind—more for the safety of the state than of the church—that New France should be free from all weakening differences among her own population. So he decreed that only good Catholics should be allowed to trade or settle there. Thenceforth French Canada was Roman Catholic, almost to a man. Then, two hundred and fifty

years ago exactly, New France also became what French-Canadians are to-day— extremely Ultramontane. Even the rising glories of le Roi Soleil and all the Gallican tendencies of France herself could not prevail to have the first Bishop of Quebec placed under the Archbishopric of Rouen. The question had, indeed, been settled in 1659, when Laval had arrived at Quebec as *Vicaire Apostolique* and Bishop of Petroëa *in partibus infidelium*. This arrival meant that the Sulpician Abbé Queylus (who had been the Archbishop's Canadian Vicar-General for the last two years) was soon and completely superseded by Laval. Laval and the Ultramontane Jesuits looked straight to Rome; and there they found the jurisdiction they desired— straight from the Pope himself. Finally, one hundred and fifty years ago exactly, the Quebec Act made the Church of Rome unique within the Province by confirming its civil rights, without, however, subjecting it to the direct accountabilities which all established churches have always had to face elsewhere.

I repeat that this great question cannot be compressed within a few short paragraphs; and I again warn my readers that my own formula — “rights without responsibilities”—is wholly misleading without much fuller explanation than can be given here. But, because the French-Canadian part of the Church in the Province of Quebec was recognized without being established, and because it received the confirmation of its civil rights without being *pro tanto* subjected to the usual

parliamentary questions and debates, it has, for a hundred and fifty British years, enjoyed what, with all proper qualifying explanations, may, in a governmental sense, be almost called "rights without responsibilities". This unique position would have been the sure undoing of most political institutions, and of many ecclesiastical institutions too. Therefore these two mere facts, first, that this privileged church should have satisfied most legitimate demands for three whole centuries—half British and half French—and, secondly, satisfied these demands so well that no repealing Act has even been debated—these two mere facts are proof that this uniquely privileged Church has used, but not abused, its quite peculiar powers.

(2). Visitors to the City and Province of Quebec cannot fail to notice that many public services of a more or less eleemosynary origin are still entirely carried on by the Roman Catholic Church, in contradistinction to the purely lay management usually found elsewhere. Indeed, with regard to sum totals, the City and Province might well be called unique in the vast number of schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and other institutions which are ecclesiastically managed. The modern differentiation which confines most "religious", *qua* "religious," to purely religious functions does not yet obtain here. French-Canadian Quebec, however much developed in some ways and modified in others, is still true to her own Church type in this respect. And here it is only fair to add that many P.Q. tax-

exemptions in favour of the R.C. French-Canadian Church are in reality no more, and generally less, than what the state would have to pay for such public services in any other case.

(3). Quebec Church archives may claim to be unique, more especially if the *Jesuit Relations* are included, as they may well be; for there are several early years of which hardly any other archives exist. Quebec, we must remember, was for more than a century the only R. C. bishopric in either French- or English-speaking America; so everything that required episcopal action had to be referred to Quebec till 1786, when John Carroll became Vicar-General of Baltimore. If, for instance, a researcher wished to find the original evidence for some parochial affair at New Orleans in 1783, the year that George III acknowledged Independence, then this evidence could only be found at the Archbishop's Palace at Quebec, if it had ever involved episcopal action. Still more remarkable is the fact that the episcopal archives of all the American Western Posts held by the British till Jay's Treaty had been put into operation by both sides are still to be found in the same Palace, whither they originally went till 1796, or twenty years after Independence had been signed. Detroit, for instance, though French, British, and American, all within the eighteenth century, reported its parochial matters to Quebec for ninety-six of these first hundred years. Of course New Orleans was Spanish from 1762 to 1800, and Detroit was in occupied territory from 1783 to

1796. But these two facts, especially the first, rather increase the interest of the Quebec location of their archives.

(4). Three years later, in 1799, we find Mgr. Plessis, the French-Canadian Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, preaching a sermon and issuing a *mandement* of thanksgiving for Nelson's victory over the French fleet at the Nile. This prelate gratefully acknowledged what the Canadian part of his Church owed to the just laws and the protecting arms of Britain against what he regarded as an apostate and regicide France. Bishop Plessis, whose sermon is still worth reading, was among the foremost Canadian patriots in the War of 1812, knowing, as he did, that the peculiar position of his Church could never be maintained outside the British Empire.

(5). The first nuns, first female teachers, and first nurses who ever came to Canada were the three Ursulines and three Hospitalières who arrived at Quebec in 1639. The Quebec Ursulines and Quebec Hospitalières are also the only nuns in the whole New World who have been through four sieges and have nursed the sick and wounded of all the warring peoples that have contended for the possession of Quebec (which of course meant Canada as well) — Indians, French, British, and Americans.

(6). Quebec has suffered from many disastrous fires. But the Hôpital-Général has always escaped; and here you still may see a perfectly intact specimen of seventeenth-century French-Canadian ar-

chitecture, in that part of the building which includes the belfry. From this date, 1671, down to the present day the structural history of Quebec may be followed up in stone. This senior of all Canadian hospitals does not, however, possess the oldest of all Canadian buildings still intact; for the Jesuit Mission House at Sillery, a few miles above the city, dates from 1637.

(7). The Ursulines are the only nuns in Canada whose building was actually turned into a fort. This was in 1660, when the Iroquois seemed determined to make a bloody end of all New France. Eighty men and twelve trained war-dogs garrisoned the convent, where every able-bodied nun was also told off to active duty. The Superior, the celebrated Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, took the most dangerous of all — the supply of ammunition to the men in action. The Ursulines, again, are the only community in New France which ever had a daughter of the New England Puritans as their Superior. Esther Wheelwright, great-granddaughter of the Reverend John Wheelwright, was taken by Indians at Wells in 1703, ransomed in 1708 by Vaudreuil (père) Governor-General, and elected Superior in 1761. The Ursuline chapel has by far the oldest votive lamp in Canada, the one first lit in 1717 by Marie Madeleine de Repentigny in memory of her dead affianced lover. In the present century the maternal members of her family in France have placed a new, and beautifully jewelled, lamp in this Chapel, and, having lighted it from the old lamp, have thereby endowed the

Ursulines with another unique souvenir; for nowhere else in the whole New World are two votive lamps burning together in the same romantic way. But even these lamps are eclipsed by another double souvenir; for this one is unique both in the Old World and the New. No other place of worship in the world contains such personal souvenirs of the opposing commanders in a world-famous battle. In the Ursuline Chapel you may see on one side the tomb of Montcalm, while facing it is the pulpit from which the Chaplain of the British flagship *Neptune* preached the "mourning" sermon in memory of Wolfe.

(8). Quebec naturally has the oldest street in Canada, the little rue de Notre-Dame in Lower-Town, leading to where the first of all parish churches stood in 1615.

(9). The see of Quebec is incomparably senior to all others. Founded in 1674 it is 115 years older than the first R.C. bishopric in the United States (Carroll, at Baltimore, in 1789). It is also 119 years older than the Anglican see of Quebec (1793) which itself is very little junior to the first in Canada (Nova Scotia, 1787) and to the first Protestant Episcopal in the U.S. (Connecticut, 1784).

(10). The Quebec Basilica is by far the oldest Cathedral in French- or English-speaking America; and it possesses vestments and vessels which, as royal gifts from Louis XIV, are quite unmatched in Canada (and, of course, the United States). More than a century later (1800-1804) George III

gave a complete set of communion plate to the Anglican Cathedral, which also has the only Royal Pew throughout the whole New World.

(11). Quebec has what is probably the only school in the world that has ever been founded in the middle of an earthquake season — le Séminaire Laval (1663).

(12). Finally, Quebec is next door to the great transatlantic Lourdes, where, before the shrine of la Bonne Sainte-Anne, pilgrims gather from all north-eastern North America in such numbers that, if the whole of London were to visit an English shrine, this concourse would not outnumber, in proportion, the Provincial French-Canadian pilgrims at Ste. Anne.

III. STATE

Here I shall be very brief, because everybody who is anybody knows the main political history of Quebec when she was the capital of Canada. But a few points seem worth emphasizing, however well they may be known to the elect.

(1). The real French constitution of Canada dates, not from the time of Champlain, but from that of Roberval, whose commission was granted by Francis I on the 15th of January, 1540. By this commission the whole political system of France was applied to Canada through the powers conferred on the King's "Lieutenant-Général," who thus became a very "potent, grave, and reverend seignior" indeed. His wretched colony, partly stocked with jail-birds, failed miserably enough; and one whole century and a quarter more elapsed before the arrival of the Marquis de Tracy made the foundations of New France at all secure. But the constitution of 1540 persisted still — feudal tenure, rights, and very searching duties, all included. There were revocations; but none that affected rights which had not been abused. Grants were simply reissued to previous good holders, as to Louis Hébert, who received the seigniorship of Sault-au-Matelot in 1623. With the usual modifications of all constitutions this original

one persisted through the time of the chartered company of One Hundred Associates, through that of the Royal Province of New France, on to the cession of 1763, through the Quebec Act of 1774, and even through the commutations and other changes effected in seignorial tenure eighty years later — down, in short, to the present day; for seignorial tenure still survives in a greatly modified, but quite constitutional, form. Quebec is thus unique throughout the world in maintaining an integral part of a French constitution granted by the King who shone resplendent at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

(2). Now let us reverse the process, beginning with any P.Q. lawyer of the present day who chooses to quote the *Coûtume de Paris*. This takes us back, through Confederation in the nineteenth century, to the Quebec Act of the eighteenth, thence to the time when Canada was a Province of centralised France in the seventeenth, and thence again to the time when, in the sixteenth century, France was just beginning to become a centralised monarchy, and the *Coûtume de Paris*, as a great centralising force in helping to unify the laws, was beginning to gain ground at the expense of all the various local *coûtumes*.

(3). The *Habitant* was the colonist, in sharp distinction from the *coureur de bois*, who was trader, trapper, and haunter of the wilds. Quebec had the first of all habitants, in the person of Louis Hébert, who began farming on the heights of Quebec just 250 years before Confederation. Six

years later (1623) he was granted the first of all seigniories. But the mere bush lot of Sault-au-Matlot never grew into anything like a real seignior; and Hébert died a virtual habitant, if also a titular *seigneur*. How well the early Habitants became rooted in the soil, and how well their stock has flourished in the selfsame soil from that time till our own, may perhaps be understood by looking through the official list compiled in 1908, the year of Tercentennial Quebec. This list (surely unique in all America) enumerates no less than 206 families who still occupy the same lands that were first farmed by their own ancestors during the seventeenth century.

(4). The first real seignior was Robert Giffard, who did homage for his fief of Beauport to Champlain's lieutenant, Bras de Fer du Châteaufort, at Quebec on New Year's Eve, 1635. Entering without sword or spur, he made obeisance, swore fealty, and was invested with his seignior. Then, spurred and sworded, he went forth, ready to serve New France as coloniser in time of peace and commander of the local levies during war. Time, and place, and people all considered, the seigniorial system worked well enough throughout the French régime. The changed conditions and the changing personnel that followed the conquest made it grow increasingly anachronistic till 1854, when, again at Quebec, it was so changed by antagonistic legislation and by new commutations as to become but the simulacrum of its former self. Still, as a quite legal simulacrum, it exists

to-day — the last vestige of the feudal age throughout the whole New World.

(5). Population, that is, French-Canadian population, from the strictly scientific point of view, presents a fact and factor that are unique in Canada, as well as being of peculiar interest among the population problems of the world at large. This French-Canadian problem is not an easy one to state, from lack of precise and accessible statistics. For though the parish registers have been admirably kept, though immigrants were well reported, and though works on genealogies abound, yet no one seems to have approached this literally and figuratively vital question from the purely scientific point of view. What we need to know is the exact number of immigrating males and females who became the actual ancestors of the nearly three million French-Canadians of the present day. We must also know the dates at which these ancestors arrived. The greatest immigration was about 250 years ago. The total number of ancestral immigrants has never, so far as I know, been determined. Some place it below 20,000; others above. But, in any case, the French Canadians, by natural increase in Canada alone, have multiplied at least one hundred times over within two hundred years: that is, fifty times over within a century, or five times over within each decade, or no less than twice in every two years. This fifty-per-cent-per-annum increase, by means of births alone, is certainly unique in all America.

(6). In this twentieth century, when Canadian

ambassadors are so much discussed in Ottawa, we might remember that Father Druillettes, a properly accredited Canadian envoy, went from Quebec to Boston in the seventeenth. New England and New France discussed their differences amicably, Druillettes being entertained by General Gibbons and courteously received by Governor Dudley, Governor Bradford, and many other leaders. But the United Colonies of New England next year (1651) declined the proffered reciprocity, at the expense of war against the Iroquois; and New France bethought her of the potential enemy that New England might become — an enemy with already ten times the population of New France.

(7). The Quebec Act of 1774 was unique in the Imperial legislation of its age, unique (as we have seen already) in its privilege-recognition of the French-Canadian Church, and unique in its territorial dispensations most of all. What are now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan (and, of course, Ontario) thenceforth formed part of the Province of Quebec till the Peace of 1783. These unique nine P.Q. years deserve a special monograph from the administrative point of view. They have already received plenty of virulent, and lately some quite impartial, attention among those who know the Quebec Act only as one of the "Intolerable Five" which fanned the flame of revolution.

(8). The City of Quebec is unique in having been the home of an abortive oversea French pseudo-*Parlement* in the seventeenth century.

Frontenac, shortly after his arrival in 1672, summoned no less than a Canadian imitation of the French States-General. The three Estates of the Province were there — to the number of nearly a thousand, as optimistic Frontenac surmised. He first made a counterpart of the Speech from the Throne and then exacted the oath from every member of the three Estates — Clergy, Nobles, and Bourgeoisie. But his enthusiastic report met with a chilling response from autocratic Louis, in the form of a dispatch from Colbert: "Since our Kings, for a long time past, have thought it inadvisable to summon the States-General in France, you should seldom, or, to be more precise, never, assemble the people of Canada together in that way."

(9). The first oversea British parliament that ever assembled at the call of a Governor-General was also unique in being mainly French by language. (The fact that Carleton was absent, and that Alured Clarke acted for him, makes no difference). All previous oversea legislatures of all kinds had been those of mere provinces or individual colonies of a purely provincial kind — as, indeed, this Parliament of Lower Canada itself was, in a territorial sense. But the Governor-General, *qua* Governor-General, assembled it; while the Parliament of Upper Canada (though not more essentially provincial in other ways) assembled at the call of its purely local Lieutenant-Governor. Both met in 1792.

(10). The basic instinct of every form of life —

from plants to politics — is sheer self-preservation; and self-preservation comes home most nearly to fundamentally differentiated minorities when brought into growing contact with environmental forces which have great assimilating powers. Therefore the very day the French Canadians found themselves in Parliament they inevitably began evolving a policy which, with all its adaptations, naturally centres in the basic instinct of preserving that quadrunion of race, religion, language, and laws which seems best fitted to stand four-square against the assimilating forces of the Canadian and American environments. Of all French colonies beyond the seas French Canada alone remains, (that is, as a racial entity on a relatively large scale, though under a different régime.) France has again created an empire overseas; but this time not one which the French themselves can colonise to any great extent. The Americans have assimilated Louisiana out of its really French life altogether. P.Q. alone remains a quite distinctive entity, widely differentiated from the life of modern France, yet unassimilated by its vast North-American or closer Canadian environment. P.Q. is thus unique throughout both the Old World and the New. This uniqueness connotes extreme particularism in certain ways. But it also accounts for many a vivid interest and abiding charm which are themselves unique.

(11). I shall not add to my perhaps already too offensive statements of the obvious by des-

canting on the universally known fact that the Fathers of Confederation met in this City for the first time exactly sixty years ago.

(12). Nor shall I do more than mention the resultant fact of the Proclamation of the Dominion on the same historic spot — (that is, the open ground at the top of Mountain Hill, on your right as you come up) — the same spot that witnessed the meeting of the first Parliament in 1792, and that remained a Parliament ground, of different kinds, till 1883.

IV. WAR

“Unique” is fast becoming that very noisome thing, a tag, properer (not for sermons but) for advertisers, tub-thumping speechifiers, and others of the non-elect. Yet Quebec does happen to be what “tag-men” would delight to call “still more unique” in all concerning War than even in affairs of Church and State together. So, to avoid much strident repetition, let it here and now be said that the City of Quebec is quite unique, at least in Canada, in all things to be mentioned under War — that is to say, in the first, or last, or only things which happened to occur within or near her walls. Some of these happenings are also unique in all America; while others, again, are quite unique throughout the world.

For purposes of easy reference I group the various items under these five heads:—A. *Wars*, B. *Garrisons*, C. *Fortifications*, D. *Miscellaneous*, and E. (a mere P.S.) on the *Misunderstandings* about the infinitely hackneyed and quite misnomered *Wolfe-and-Montcalm Campaign*.

A. WARS. Quebec has been concerned in literally a dozen different wars.

(1). *French and Indian wars*, from Champlain’s first expedition against the Iroquois in 1609 to Frontenac’s last, in 1696. Quebec itself

was the actual scene of Indian fighting for only a comparatively short time (e.g. in 1656, when the Iroquois killed out the Hurons on the Island of Orleans) yet it was the base on all occasions for all the forces, whether commanded by Champlain, Montmagny, Courcelle, La Barre, Denonville, or Frontenac.

(2). *French and English* met here first in 1629, when Champlain was forced to surrender owing to the hopeless dearth of men, munitions, and supplies. As usual, the determining influence of the sea-power which caused this hopeless dearth is slurred over in the usual histories or omitted altogether. There was a naval action (albeit on a microscopic scale) off the Saguenay in 1628, when the Kirkes defeated the tiny flotilla of four little armed vessels which were escorting eighteen little transports to Quebec under the gallant Claude de Roquemont.

(3). Courcelle's expedition against the Iroquois in 1666 led to the first and most dramatic *Inland meeting between the French and English*. The French, missing the Mohawk trail, suddenly, to their intense surprise, found themselves face to face with the English at Schenectady. They were looking for Mohawks. The only whites of whom they knew anything along the Hudson Valley were the Dutch. Yet here were the English, who, having supplanted the Dutch at New York eighteen months before, had now worked their way north straight toward the flank of New France. The two home governments were then at peace; so

French and English parted with all the usual compliments; but not without most ominous forebodings on both sides.

Yet, for another generation, there was peace, till Frontenac's raids set the Colonial Americans to work on Pieter Schuyler's "*Glorious Enterprize*" of conquering New France by a double invasion, an inland army going up the line of the Hudson to Montreal, while a joint expedition ascended the St. Lawrence to Quebec. As we all know, this plan did not succeed till the time of Pitt, seventy years later. Meanwhile the French had their own strategic plans, all based on Quebec. Frontenac urged Louis XIV to get New York either by treaty or force, thus securing the most convenient ice-free port, driving a wedge through the country of the Iroquois, and cutting the English colonies in two. But the one chance of getting it by treaty, when Charles II was almost a pensioner of Louis XIV, was lost, and thenceforth sea-power became, as before and afterwards, the prime determinant in every war.

French strategy in America, still based upon Quebec, then aimed at the control of the *three great gulfs, the three great rivers, and the five great lakes*. Grandiose as this appears to us now, we must remember that France was then the first power in Europe and had a population far exceeding the population of Great Britain. Moreover, she did command the local areas of the three great gulfs toward the end of the seventeenth century, when Iberville commanded Hudson Bay, raided

Newfoundland, and had no challenger in either the Gulf of St. Lawrence or of Mexico. The St. Lawrence, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers were also under French control, if under any, a little later on; while the five Great Lakes were practically free from all whites but the French.

The first combined invasion of New France by English-speaking forces was unique in being the only combined invasion ever attempted by the *Colonial Americans alone* (for the purely naval force at Louisbourg in 1745 was exclusively Imperial). Phipps's fleet and army were almost entirely composed of New England men and vessels; and the whole expedition reached Quebec without a ship, a penny, or a man, or even one official word, from the Home Government in London. Hopelessly mismanaged by its loquacious councils, and faced by Frontenac with the cleverly concentrated strength of New France, Phipps's armada retired beaten; whereupon the new church in Lower Town was called Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire. In 1711 there was a second combined invasion; and this time an Imperial one, which, if properly led, Quebec could never have withstood. But the mulish Admiral, Sir Hovenden Walker, "kept it at North" till Egg Island, at the N.W. corner of the Gulf, was strewn with wrecked transports carrying a good number of the veteran soldiers who were completely miscommanded by that ass of a General, Jack Hill. The mule and ass then brayed together and went home; though the remaining force was still quite strong enough to take Quebec: where-

upon the church's name was changed to *des-Victoires*.

(4). The only successful invasion was the famous one of 1759. This campaign, in spite of enough original evidence on both sides to settle all vexed questions, is still so much misrepresented as to be worth discussion in a little P.S., even before an audience of F.R.S.C.'s. (see under E, at the end of this section).

(5). Quebec, as the stronghold of New France, had now faced four different kinds of war: first, against the Indian frontier; then against English raiders from the sea; next against a combined invasion by Colonial Americans; and fourthly, against British combined invasions, by joint Imperial and Colonial forces, culminating in conquest, cession, and the change to the new régime, under which Quebec has been connected, in differing ways, with no less than eight other kinds of war.

The first of these other eight was the *invasion by the American Revolutionists* under Montgomery and Arnold in 1775-6. For that whole winter all Canada was practically under American control — all except Carleton's garrison inside the walls of Quebec. The double assault was defeated, Montgomery's at *Près-de-Ville* and Arnold's at the *Sault-au-Matelot*. (The sites of these two barricades were marked by bronze tablets some twenty years ago). Then up came a British fleet in May, and Canada was saved — as, indeed, she would have been, even if Quebec itself had fallen, so

decisive has always been the influence of sea-power on the whole course of all our history.

(6). *Two American invasions* — one Colonial, the other Revolutionary — had now failed before Quebec. *The third — that of the War of 1812* — never reached it at all. But Quebec was, of course, a prime American objective, as well as the local British stronghold, throughout the frontier operations; and the heroes of the two fights which are best known in their respective Provinces — Queenston in Ontario, Châteauguay in old Quebec — were both more than mere visitors to (or subordinates of headquarters at) Quebec. Brock had lived here, as Commandant, in the third house from the top of Fabrique Street; while De Salaberry was almost a Quebecker, the family seat being at Beauport, only a few miles off. De Salaberry and his brothers were officers in the Imperial Army; and his Voltigeurs were French-Canadian regulars — two points not usually stressed.

Another name connected with Quebec and 1812 is that of Wellington, who wrote a remarkably fine letter to Bathurst on hearing the news of Prevost's disgraceful defeat at Plattsburg. Though Canada was then little more than what is called a side-show, compared with Napoleonic Europe, and though Wellington was then the foremost figure among the Allies, yet, on the 14th of November, 1814, he wrote Bathurst the following confidential letter:—"I see that the Publick are very impatient about the want of success in America I think that matters are in such an uncom-

portable state here. . . . that you could not spare me out of Europe. . . . and I believe I should not be able to go to Quebec till April [i.e. two months before Waterloo]. If, however, in March next, you should think it expedient that I should go there, I beg that you will understand that I have no objection whatever. It will be for you to consider whether I can be most useful to you there, here, or elsewhere."

(7). Another, and much more unpleasant, kind of war managed from Quebec headquarters was the series of unhappy risings known as the *Canadian Rebellion* of 1837-8.

(8). Then, after the Trent Affair of 1861, came the *Fenian Raids* of 1866 and '70, forming another class apart.

(9). The *Red River Expedition* of 1870 was the last in which Imperial regulars and Canadian militia served together in Canada, the first in which either had gone west of the Great Lakes, and the last during which Headquarters were still at Quebec.

(10). (I do not forget the Papal Zouaves of 1870-1 or the Nile Voyageurs who rendezvoused at Quebec in 1884. But neither of these come within our terms of reference here: the Zouaves being unofficial volunteers and the Voyageurs being non-combatants for special service only.) The *North-West Rebellion* of 1885 was the first war in which Quebec was not Headquarters, the first in which Dominion regulars left Quebec for the front, and the first in which a Quebec City

French-Canadian Militia battalion went west of the Lakes.

(11). In 1899 Quebec was the rendezvous of the first *South African Contingent* — the first Canadian unit that ever went on active service overseas. (The 100th Royal Canadians, raised in 1858, were an Imperial unit).

(12). In 1914 *Valcartier*, near Quebec, was the rendezvous, while *Quebec* itself was the point of departure for, the *first Canadian contingents that ever went to war in Europe*. The *Great World War*, as every enlightened person knew, was, in its essence, a life-and-death struggle against forces which aimed at the complete disablement, if not destruction, of all the French- and English-speaking peoples of the world — of course including all the daughter nations as well as both the mother countries. Thus, after ten different kinds of intervening wars, the stronghold City of Quebec, once the smallest of local French headquarters against a few wild savages, came into fully autonomous Dominion correlations with by far the greatest world-wide war that history has ever seen. It is worth noting that expert professional military foresight at Ottawa was not in fault about Quebec, first, in 1907, when *Valcartier* was strongly recommended, and again in 1912, when detailed plans were submitted for camping multiples of 10,000 men on (the right, not wrong, part of) that selected ground — ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, one hundred, and even two hundred thousand men. Some political wiseacres laughed at such absur-

dities. But Canada had half-a-million men under arms before that war was over. Quebec itself was also the place chosen for the famous-or-infamous Ross rifle. But the Ross rifle affair was not the fault of the military experts who specialised in rifles.

The Great World War brought about some very interesting correlations at Quebec between the three great peoples who had fought to win her — French, British, and Americans. The *U.S. Government* made their own small-arm ammunition at the Dominion Arsenal (next door to where Arnold's American invaders took up their quarters at the Palais); and, what caught the eye much more, many thousands of their soldiers sailed from Quebec for the front. *British war activities* of every kind were of course in evidence on every hand. Most were purely *Canadian*; but some were *Imperial* — munitions and certain kinds of inland water transport among them. Then, at one time, there was direct enlistment for "hostility men" into the *Royal Navy*; while, at another, there was enlistment for the Canadian Expeditionary Force that went to *Siberia*. Then, again, Quebec was the mobilisation centre for all the *Jugo-Slavs* throughout both North and South America. This mobilisation provided one of the strangest anomalies of this strange war; for the Serbians, Montenegrins, and other Jugo-Slavs (many thousands of whom were mobilised at the St. Joseph Camp) came as civilians, remained civilians all through their training in Quebec, crossed the Atlantic as

civilians, and only became recognized soldiers after they had reached the other side — generally some French port in the north of Africa. This unique civilian status persisted not only because they were the embryonic soldiers of an embryonic state but because foreign enlistment — even of an extra-territorial nature — was considered at least a potential breach of neutrality by the Wilsonian government at Washington. So here was a Canadian Camp Commandant the only soldier among thousands of armed civilians volunteering for oversea service under a potential, not an actual, state, which could only become a recognised nation as the result of a victory won by the side on which these Jugo-Slavs fought.

But perhaps the most appealing of all the non-British events connected with Quebec and this war were two which cannot be classed as strictly war activities at all. The first was the visit, near the end of the war, of *the first French soldiers that had ever set foot in Canada since the surrender of New France* a hundred and fifty-eight years before. (I am not forgetting the many French sailors between 1860 and the present day). These soldiers were a detachment of the justly famous Chasseurs Alpains, nicknamed “Blue Devils”, and the very pick of their kind.

The second, and still more thrilling, visit was that paid by Marshal Foch in 1920. Here was the first Maréchal-de-France who ever set foot in Canada. Here was the first generalissimo of British, French, and Americans combined.

Here was the first *Maréchal-de-France* who was also a British Field Marshal. And here, in our famous Citadel, this world-renowned Marshal of both the French and British Armies reviewed the regiment of which he had been made Honorary Colonel, at the request of our Dominion and with the most cordial permission of our King — the Royal 22nd, a regiment of Canadian regulars, lately returned from the British front in France, now garrisoning the City of Champlain and of Montcalm, wearing the British khaki and drilled by English words of command, but also French-speaking French Canadians to a man.

B. GARRISONS: Well, they too are unique in all America, where no place whatever, except Quebec, has been garrisoned for more than three whole centuries without a single break: first by Champlain's Frenchmen for 21 years, then by Kirke's Englishmen for 3, then by the French again for 127, then by British Imperials for 112, and finally by Canadian regulars for the last 53. Montmagny, who was Governor from 1636 to 1648, believed in being ready for all eventualities; and the Jesuit Father Lejeune has left us a good description of the garrison in those early days, when, please remember, Quebec was but a village — perhaps I should say hamlet — with only a few hundred souls. "We have some good resolute soldiers. It is a pleasure to see them go through their military exercises and hear the sound of musketry and cannon called forth by every occasion of rejoicing; while our illimitable forests and

the encircling hills answer these salutes with echoes like the roll of thunder. The bugle calls us every morning, and we rise to see the sentries take post and the guard turn out in proper style." But it was not till 1665 that the arrival of the famous Régiment de Carignan — *the first regiment of regulars that ever came to North America* — raised the garrison to a really imposing strength. In 1759 British Imperials began a garrison duty that lasted till 1871, when the first Canadian regulars under the Dominion Government fell in for their first parade.

C. FORTIFICATIONS. In this respect Quebec is still more remarkable — unique, in fact, throughout the whole New World; for nowhere else is there any place that has been fortified in five successive centuries, from the sixteenth to our own. Of course, Jacques Cartier's tiny stockade beside the Little River (as the St. Charles was called and is — in contrast to the great St. Lawrence) can not be counted as a "fortification", in the stricter sense of the word. But it served its purpose, as did the *Abitation de Quebecq*, the much more pretentious, but still very small, fortified winter quarters built by Champlain in 1608. Champlain also built the first fort in the Upper Town, on the site of the present Terrace; and Montmagny rebuilt its makeshift "fascines, terres, gazons, et bois" in solid stone. But up to Phipps's attack in 1690 there was nothing more than a stone fort round the Governor's fortified Château in the Upper Town, with a "strong place" in the

Lower Town on each side of the present Sous-le-Fort Street. In 1692, twenty years after his first arrival, Frontenac first succeeded in getting the means for building the first walls round Quebec. Frontenac, like Montcalm, was exasperated beyond all endurance by the rascally contractors and bad local workmanship. By the time the last of the dishonest and dilatory work had been completed the first was falling to pieces. Then in 1720 new, but equally bad and even more dishonest, work was begun. From this time till the Conquest nothing but patchwork was ever done. Good French engineers came out and made excellent reports. But the local workmanship was bad, the contractors were worse, and when the infamous Intendant Bigot took charge the Government was worst of all. On the very eve of 1759 the despairing Montcalm wrote home: "Les fortifications sont si ridicules et mauvaises qu'elles seraient prises aussitôt qu'assiégées." "What a country", as he constantly wrote home in private letters, "what a country, where rogues grow rich and honest men are ruined!"

British makeshifts replaced French tinkerings till after the American invasion of 1775. Then a temporary British scheme was finished in 1783. The remains of the Cape Diamond works — still palmed off on sentimental tourists as "Old French Works" — date from this time. Forty years later the great fortification was begun. It took nine years (1823-32) and cost over seven millions sterling. This, however, was only a very small part

of the more than a hundred millions sterling spent by the patient Imperial taxpayer on military works in Canada; and this, in its turn, was nothing like a quarter of what the Imperial taxpayers of the Mother Country paid for the naval and military forces devoted to the special defence of Canada in peace and war. The walls and Citadel, as they stand to-day, were well and honestly built. Then, just before Canada took over her own defence in 1871 (with exceptions that lasted for another generation on both coasts) the Imperial Government built the three big forts on the heights of Lévis. Finally, in 1910, the Dominion built the modern works near Beaumont, eight miles below Quebec and on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, whose ship channel they command. These works were inspected, that same year, at the request of the Canadian Government, by Lord French, the first Commander-in-chief of the first British troops in France during the Great World War.

D. MISCELLANEOUS first, or last, or only things connected with Quebec's war history are numerous enough to make a quite effective class of their own. But I shall merely note a few.

(1). *Charlesbourg*, close to Quebec, still has fields divided by fences which stretch out from a common centre like spokes from a hub. The original hub was the local fort, into which the habitants could run most easily when all the neighbouring fields met at one common point. The fort has long since disappeared. But, among the older habitants in the remoter districts, any

nearby village is still referred to as *le fort*, in reminiscence of Iroquois and scalping parties; while here, unique in all America, you still may see the fences running in to one strategic point.

(2). Five special points about the *Quebec Campaign of 1759* are worth a little emphasis, at all events in naval and military eyes.

1). *The great Fleet and Convoy*, in all, 277 sail (from which Wolfe's little army acted as a landing party) was by far the greatest that had ever come up the St. Lawrence. More than that: despite the vast increase of size in modern vessels, the actual gross tonnage of this great fleet and convoy was never again equalled on the St. Lawrence till the First Canadian Contingent sailed from Quebec to the Great World War in 1914.

2). It was at Quebec that Wolfe himself suggested the regimental motto of the famous *Royal Americans*—*Celer et Audax*. This regiment, first raised in 1755, and soon numbered as the 60th Foot, was the first four-battalion regiment in the Service, the first to become a Rifle Regiment, and the only one whose uniform became the model of all Canadian Rifles. It is, therefore, quite befitting that the present English-speaking Quebec militia battalion, known as the Royal Rifles of Canada, should be affiliated with the "Old 60th", now known as the King's Royal Rifle Corps.

3). It was at Quebec that the *Royal Marine Light Infantry* first served in a complete battalion ashore in any campaign.

4). *The thin red line* immortalised by Kinglake

was antedated by nearly a century at Quebec; for the first two-deep line ever formed by any army in any battle in the world was formed by Wolfe's at Quebec. This statement, first made, from the original evidence, in 1904, has stood the expert researches of the past twenty years.

5). *The father of modern hydrography*, the great Captain Cook, began his surveys at Quebec; and it is a rather peculiar coincidence that while the great English circumnavigator Cook was helping Wolfe to get into Quebec the great French circumnavigator Bougainville was trying to keep him out.

Three special points about other times are also very well worth noting here.

1). To begin with, the *first Royal Review* ever held in the whole New World was held at Quebec in 1787 in honour of William IV, then quite a junior Naval officer. Rather coincidently, the last Royal Review here was held in honour of our only other sailor King, George V, who attended the Tercentenary of 1908 as his father's representative, and who reviewed British, French, and American forces on the very ground where their predecessors had fought so well and often for the possession of Quebec. This review was also unique on account of the Canadian forces present, being the first at which all arms and branches of all Canadian Services, from every Province in the whole Dominion, had ever met together on one spot.

2). *The only American Commander who ranked*

as a General in three different wars in the three different countries of North America was, after Queenston, a prisoner of war in Quebec, where, from his gigantic stature and noble bearing, he soon became known and popular as "the Big Colonel." Winfield Scott was a General commanding a brigade of first-rate regulars at Lundy's Lane in 1814, the Commanding General during the Mexican War of 1846 (when Lee was his Chief-of-Staff, while Grant and Stonewall Jackson were junior officers) and the senior General of the whole U.S. Army at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

3). *The Army Bills Act*, passed at Quebec in 1812 by the Parliament of Lower Canada (in which French Canadians, then as now, vastly preponderated) was by far the most important financial measure not only of that war but, in a certain sense, of the whole financial history of Canada. These bills were the first Canadian paper money ever redeemed at par, being made "redeemable at this" (the Army Bill) "Office" (17 St. Louis Street) "by Government Bills of Exchange on London, at Thirty Days Sight. By Order of the Commander of the Forces."

E. THE MISUNDERSTOOD CAMPAIGN OF 1759

Even the most gushing publicity department of the most aggressive tourist agency could hardly make the "standard story" of the Battle of the Plains more hackneyed or less truthful than it is.

But so deeply grooved are all the old perversions, and so long does it take to get any popular error out of any well-worn grooves, that perhaps I might be excused for making this little critical digression, in order to set before those who do not specialise in history a few of the fundamental facts which make all the difference between theatrical perversions and the really dramatic truth. I should add that although the limits of this paper forbid references to the original evidence — references which, if complete, would fill more space than this whole paper fills — yet the few points mentioned here are based entirely on this evidence, without the slightest regard to any intervening books (the author's own included) and that this evidence (from both sides and from every point of view) is now so nearly final that practically all important matters stand revealed. The Dominion Archives can alone supply any impartial and scientific student with evidence enough to arrive at something very near to what any final judgment ought to be.

To begin with a few perversions.

(1). To say that Wolfe came here "supported by a fleet" is to put the cart before the horse. British sea-power, both mercantile and naval, was a vastly greater factor in that rightly named "Maritime War" than land-power was or could be, simply because it divided its enemies and united its friends all over the world. British oversea armies could no more work without ships than they could march without legs; and this was

especially true at Quebec, where Wolfe's little army was really no more than a most efficient landing party from an overwhelming fleet. Including the crews of all supply and transport vessels, there were three times as many seamen as landsmen on the British side. But this difference in mere numbers by no means shows the vastly greater preponderance of sea-power over land-power in every other way. To begin with, the source of all decisive armed strength was in the warring mother countries, not in America. Consequently, the mother country whose sea-power could make the Atlantic a good road for its own ships but a bad one for its enemy's was certain to win in the end, no matter what the respective armies did. But these respective armies were themselves vitally dependent on sea-power. For the inland waterways were infinitely better than any roads, even the best; and few were even tolerably good in those days. Even to-day, whenever distances are long and heavy transport is concerned, a hundred tons can go by sea as well as ten by train or one by road with horses. What, therefore, must have been the preponderance in favour of the water when trains did not exist and roads were very few and very bad indeed?

But man is a land animal; and he naturally knows little of the sea. So we must expect him to misinterpret amphibious history in terms of his own environment. One might suppose that most readers would appreciate the wonderful navi-

gational feat of bringing 277 sail up the St. Lawrence without any aids to navigation in the way of buoys and lights, without good charts, and (despite the many French-traitor-pilot tales) without any real dependence on the local pilots (who were almost worthless in working up a concentrated fleet). But, except for the "Damn me!" of "Old Killick", they rarely see any account of how the feat was done.

(2). Wolfe did not theatrically repeat Gray's *Elegy* as he came down to the final attack in the same boat with some of the forlorn hope, when silence had been ordered under pain of death; but he did repeat it, appropriately and dramatically, in another boat, on the afternoon of the day before, when making his final reconnaissance with a few staff officers.

(3). Circumstances, both at the time and ever since, conspired to make the Battle of the Plains one of the so-called decisive battles of the world — and, in one sense, it was decisive; for it marked the turn of the tide within its own restricted area. But, in another sense, this term is quite misleading, because the Plains did not decide the conquest of Canada, which required another campaign; also because the conquest was itself determined vastly more by naval and by civil forces, both in a universal and a local sense, than by the actual armies on the spot; and finally because Quiberon not only clinched Quebec but made the next campaign an inevitable triumph for those who were thenceforth free from even challenges at sea.

Quiberon, with its universally decisive effect, settled the fate of New France. Quebec was a mere local step by the way.

Quebec happened just at the precise psychological moment, and in the perfectly dramatic way, to take the public by storm. 1759 saw the turn of the tide for British arms by land and sea; while each new victory made the deeply apprehended French invasion of the Mother Country more and more unlikely to occur. Things had not been going well in previous years. But now the tide was turning. English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic were being drawn together by their interest in the conquest of New France; and Quebec became a word to conjure with. Next, to heighten the effect, the news at first was most discouraging. The joint invasion was apparently about to fail again. Amherst's forces were held up along the line of Lake Champlain for want of local sea-power; while Wolfe's first attack (on Montcalm at Montmorency) was an utter failure, besides being an egregious blunder too.

Then, just at the very moment which a supreme publicity agent would have chosen, Wolfe's final plan succeeded. It was no more than a second best, and strategically wrong, as we shall presently see. But it was managed to perfection by as finely worked a combination of naval and military forces as British history can show; and though this consummate combination was, as usual, ignored by the public, all the incidental details happened in just the very way the

press and public love; while the false theatrical versions of some truly dramatic stories, like Wolfe and Gray's *Elegy*, added greatly to the popular effect. The boatwork by night; the scaling of the cliff (popularised not because it was extremely well done as a military feat but because it was misunderstood to have been an astonishingly acrobatic "stunt"); the famous volleys (absurdly misrepresented as having been fired by the whole line together, instead of having been only single volleys, fired by battalions, and followed by a "general", i.e., collective independent); the dashing down of Highland muskets and the charge with Highland claymores (which deranged the line and caused undue Highland losses later on); the defeat of greatly exaggerated French numbers under the still more exaggerated walls of the "frowning fortress" of Quebec; the death of the supposedly outwitted Montcalm and all his Generals; and, finally, the death of the really noble Wolfe in the very arms of victory — well, what more could press and public want? Hawke's absolutely decisive victory at Quiberon two months later not only dispelled the real dangers of invasion but settled the fate of New France. Yet, being at sea, and coming after pent-up emotions had already been discharged profusely, it had to be less famous than the Battle of the Plains.

Pray let me add that I do not for a moment mean to belittle either Wolfe or his admirably planned and executed manœuvres, fight, and victory. But I do want to draw attention to the

popular perversions which, here as elsewhere, distort the relative values of historic events out of all due proportion. Moreover, it would be grossly unfair to the French, and correspondingly belittling to the British, if I failed to stress the many successes which, in a purely military sense, were all the more honourable to the French because adverse sea-power and lack of general resources were forcing them to fight with one arm tied behind their back.

Ten years before the Battle of the Plains La Galissonnière revived French strategy along the three great rivers by sending Céloron to make the French claims good to the whole Ohio Valley. Next year (1750) Christopher Gist went there prospecting for the British Ohio Company. For three years more the French and British manoeuvred against each other without drawing sword; while, during the third, George Washington appeared in history for the first time as a surveyor and militia officer sent to assert Virginia's claims. This brought on the inevitable clash of arms at Fort Necessity in 1754, when, on the first memorable 4th of July, Washington was forced to surrender. Next year, though the mother countries were still at peace in Europe, their armies met in America, where Braddock's Defeat in the Ohio Valley was only partially offset by Johnson's victory at Lake George. The British expedition against Niagara never went farther than Oswego, where it left a garrison as a thorn in the side of the French. Then, in 1756, Montcalm came out and

won four successive victories in four successive years, as we shall presently see. After his death there was another campaign, when the French, under the gallant Lévis, won a salving victory at what might well be called the Second Battle of the Plains; while Vauquelin fought a magnificent rearguard action in *L'Atalante* against the vanguard of the fleet that forced the whole French army to retire. The arms of France thus left Quebec with all the honours of war, both by land and sea.

(4). Now let us hark back for a final glance at Wolfe and Montcalm; and let us take Wolfe first. We have already seen how well the Battle of the Plains lent itself to popular perversion. But this popular perversion, which has lasted to the present day, should never blind us to Wolfe's real merits and very sterling qualities. Only, we must remember that successes happening at times and places which cause the greatest emotional attention then and thereafter need not be correspondingly great in a naval or military way.

Three very simple illustrations will prove this to the hilt. First, when Admiral Vernon "took Porto Bello with six ships" (in 1739) both Lords and Commons presented their congratulations to the King. Much greater naval actions than this audacious stroke have attracted far less attention. But that might have been because they had no such tag as Jenkins's Ear had been for some time past; and because they had not been fought by an admiral who was also an M.P. and inventor of

the prophetic tag that he would "take Porto Bello with six ships". Secondly, admirers of Mr. Pickwick will remember the portrait of the bareheaded Marquess of Granby, in his famous Warburg attitude, over the inn at Dorking. Now, Granby might or might not have been a great cavalry (or even army) commander if he had had the chance. But the fame he did acquire in 1761 was due mostly to the fact that he was the first Englishman of his kind to cut a good figure on the European scene in a war which had not been so successful there. And when the real merits of his charge were further impressed on the public by the fact that his hat and wig blew off, why, of course he became a popular hero. Hatless and wigless he soon appeared on tavern signboards all over England. Beer and glory did the rest. Thirdly, Sherman's March to the Sea in 1864 was easily the least difficult among all his masterstrokes of war. He said himself: "Were I to express my measure of the relative importance of the march to the sea, and of that from Savannah northward, I would place the former at one, and the latter at ten — or the maximum". But "Marching through Georgia" happened to catch the public eye while nothing else was on the central stage, and while the whole Northern press was itching to write something up to the very top of its bent.

Now, Wolfe's famous battle was a greater naval and military feat than any of these three grossly over-estimated instances; while Wolfe himself was a singularly fine character and a most

excellent professional soldier, who might have become a great commander had he enjoyed any future chances. Moreover, as already stated, his plan was very well conceived and executed almost to perfection. So all that can be said in praise of him is fully justifiable — except, and here's the crucial exception, that his plan was only a second best, that while it took Quebec, it failed to take New France, and that this entailed another arduous campaign next year.

To make a long story short I should explain (to those who may not have had occasion to follow up the strategy of this whole war) that New France must have fallen if the main French army at Quebec surrendered, that this army would die if it went north into the resourceless wilds, that the British fleet cut it off from the east and the south, and that its one possible line of supply and retreat was to the west, preferably of course by the St. Lawrence, so far as this was feasible, but also by the single upper road which led the whole way west to Montreal. Now, at Quebec itself, and for a good many miles west, there was a lower road, in the valley of the St. Charles, which eventually joined the upper road. If, therefore, Wolfe could entrench astride of this upper road, westward of its junction with the lower road, then, while the fleet barred the river abreast of these entrenchments, Montcalm would have no choice but to fight, starve, or surrender; and both sides knew that Wolfe's army of highly trained picked regulars would, in such a position, be able to prevent at all

events the main body of Montcalm's mixed forces from ever getting past.

When Wolfe was ill in August he had asked his brigadiers to suggest a plan of their own; and they had suggested a landing at Pointe-aux-Trembles, twenty-two miles above Quebec, at a spot fulfilling the strategical conditions mentioned above. Then, on the 3rd of September, he broke camp on the left bank of the Montmorency, just beyond the Falls, let non-committal manoeuvres go on for a week, up towards Pointe-aux-Trembles; and finally, on the 10th, formed his own plan of landing two, instead of twenty-two, miles above Quebec, so as to bring on an immediate action in the open field, across the Plains of Abraham. This second-best plan succeeded to admiration, as all the world knows. But the point is whether, with the almost omnipotent fleet, he could not have feinted here, or elsewhere near Quebec, and then cut off the whole French army, by landing at the better strategic point twenty miles higher — or somewhere else that would serve the same turn — thus ensuring the complete surrender of New France.

At this point I beg leave to say that these criticisms of Wolfe come from far higher authorities than I can claim to be. Having been obliged to learn both the ground and the original evidence (both French and British) I have often gone over the Quebec battlefields as guide to naval and military men of great experience, not only in war but sometimes in very high command as well;

and I have nearly always found them criticising Wolfe in the foregoing sense.

Excluding French and French Canadians, as possibly a little partial — though I know some who are quite as impartial as anyone can be; excluding also Americans and Japanese (whose naval and military men I have also guided) in case they might be over-neutral — though here again I know some who are equally keen and impartial; I come to British experts, men who would naturally think the best about Wolfe; and I take from these none but those who have been themselves Commanders-in-chief afloat or ashore. Two afloat were, first, Admiral-of-the-Fleet Sir Edward Seymour, Commander-in-chief in China during the Boxer Rebellion, a very keen student of war history, and one who in his autobiography makes special reference to his tour of the battle-fields here; secondly, Admiral-of-the-Fleet Lord Jellicoe, whom all know as the first Commander-in-chief afloat during the Great War. Both thought Wolfe's strategy wrong, as did the late Sir Julian Corbett, the universally known naval historian.

But lest anyone might conceivably suppose their opinions were tinged with a little naval prejudice — which is of course absurd — I shall now mention three other Commanders-in-chief, all of whom were soldiers who had led great armies in the field: — Field Marshals Lords Roberts, French, and Wolseley. (Here again, as with the naval historian just mentioned, so with the Hon-

ourable John Fortescue, the historian of the British Army: he was and is most critical of Wolfe's plan). Lord Roberts and Lord French said very much the same as the two great Admirals; while Lord Wolseley, who knew Quebec and Canada very well indeed, epitomised his carefully considered judgment in the following written words: — "Wolfe was a first-rate Commanding officer of a Battalion; but, in the only campaign he ever conducted, he did not, according to my views of men who have conducted campaigns, display any originality or any great genius for war."

(5). Now let us take our final glance at Montcalm, who came out to Quebec in 1756, at the age of forty-four, with a well earned reputation as one of the rising stars of the whole French Army, and whose really wonderful services in defence of doomed New France certainly raised him to an assured position among the few great Commanders of the whole New World. For if we consider, however hastily, what were the enormous odds against him — not only on the side of his open and honourable enemies but on the part of his backbiting friends — we cannot fail to wonder at all that he accomplished when forced to fight insidious enemies in rear as well as those who, based on a sea-power of overwhelming strength, were bent on the conquest of misgoverned, corrupted, and perishing New France.

A word should be said in passing about the original evidence, nearly all the most cogent part of which is now accessible to students, but much

of which was not accessible to previous generations, whose writers were naturally apt to fill up the gaps by surmises made in accordance with their own national and individual prejudices. Moreover, the fall of New France was, quite as naturally, no more popular with French and French Canadians than the American Revolution was with the British, or the three abortive American invasions of Canada (Colonial, Revolutionary, and "1812") have hitherto been in the States. So, one way or other, Montcalm never came into his own till the present Dominion Archivist made the first proper bibliography of the original evidence about him; till the first French Canadian who ever did him "knowledgeable" justice was found in the historian who now presides over the Royal Society of Canada; and, finally, till La Section Historique de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée published its admirable monograph on *Montcalm au Combat de Carillon* in 1909, the very year that Marshal Foch was directing all staff studies as Commandant de l'Ecole Supérieure de Guerre. To this I should like to add that all really expert historians who write in English now see the greatness of Montcalm, and that all the expert naval and military Commanders, British and foreign alike, whom I have accompanied over the fields of battle at Quebec expressed their admiration for him as a master in the art of war.

To conclude by trying to make three crucial factors of his dire problem clear: first, the disabling drawbacks on his own side; secondly, the ulti-

mately overwhelming forces of the enemy, mainly due to sea-power; and thirdly, the desperate nature of the four campaigns in which, unique among the world's commanders, he won four successive victories over those who speak the English tongue.

First: the disabling drawbacks on his own side.

It used to be thought, and is still either said or tacitly assumed (sometimes by those who ought to know better) that Montcalm was the really supreme Commander of all the forces in New France. Nothing could be further from the truth. New France was an autocracy without a local autocrat. She was as much like a Royal Province in France herself as edictory powers could make her. But in France a Royal Province had its Royal Master (or his Master) close at hand; whereas New France was three thousand miles away, cut off completely for nearly half the year, and changed by environment in many important ways. In order that all provincial leaders should always be dependent on the central power their functions were designed to overlap. Now and then a great Intendant, such as Talon, or a very masterful Governor, like Frontenac, would make the system work. But in Montcalm's dire days the governmental powers in doomed New France were all parts and no whole — no, not even a united whole in battle, if the Governor or the Intendant could serve their own ends better by interfering with Montcalm.

Montcalm's own military position, difficult enough at first, became impossible as time went

on. He would have gladly resigned on several occasions; and it was only the highest sense of duty to a ruined cause that prevented him from going home after Vaudreuil's contemptible proceedings in 1758 — proceedings which followed Montcalm's great victory at Carillon (that is, Ticonderoga). Technically, Montcalm commanded only *les troupes de la terre*, that is, the French regulars from France. The French-Canadian regulars (*troupes de la marine*) and the French-Canadian militiamen (who theoretically included all able-bodied men) were under the Governor-General, who also was in supreme command, if and when he would assume such sole responsibility; but who was likewise told to "defer" as much as possible to Montcalm's "advice" in purely military matters. The French seamen were semi-independent in certain ways. The Indians were under their own chiefs, were told to regard the Governor as their father, but naturally took Montcalm to be the true Great War Chief, and justly resented the way in which they were cheated by the infamous Intendant. Moreover, Vaudreuil, the Governor, was (in every possible military way) a vain and fussy fool, wholly incompetent to conduct a campaign himself, but intensely jealous of Montcalm, bent on thwarting him at every turn, and, though personally honest, equally bent on letting the absolutely corrupt and corrupting Intendant Bigot have a perfectly free hand. Now, Bigot practically controlled all the supply and transport services of all the forces in New France. So here was

another incongruous element to help the parts against the whole. To complete the disunion, Vaudreuil, a French Canadian born, set French and French Canadians by the ears; while Bigot, who was French-of-France by birth, was quite impartial as to whom he robbed, traduced, supported, or divided — always supposing that the profits came to him.

Let me be perfectly clear about Vaudreuil and Montcalm. First, let me repeat that I am only concerned with their respective values as commanders, and not with their private characters or even their characters as non-military men. Next, let me point out that Montcalm had his human faults, that he lacked the almost super-human patience of Marlborough or Washington, and that he did not make sufficient allowance for some quite justifiable environmental variations of a purely French-Canadian kind. But here comes the very pointed question whether Marlborough, Washington, and Fabius Maximus, put together, or even triune in a single man, could possibly have harmonised the distracting conditions of New France under Bigot and Vaudreuil. Finally, let me say that Vaudreuil really loved his native country, and that he had some real justification for resenting certain French-of-France assumptions of superiority over French-Canadian things and people. Moreover, his natural pride in French-Canadian prowess was justified by the many gallant feats of arms performed by French Canadians in the century between Dollard's defence of the

Long Sault in 1660 and Lévis' attack at Ste. Foy in 1760. But Montcalm did not undervalue the native spirit of the French Canadians; while all his words, plans, and actions bear witness to his military worth. Vaudreuil, on the other hand, was far worse than worthless as a military man. Just read his own most self-condemning words.

To sum up: there were two different kinds of French — the French-of-France and French Canadians; and three different overlapping authorities at headquarters — Vaudreuil the fool, Bigot the knave, and Montcalm, who, though the only real expert, commanded only one of the five different forces, could be over-ruled by Vaudreuil, and had to depend on Bigot for all supplies and transport.

Secondly, the ultimately overwhelming forces of the enemy, mainly due to sea-power. Of course there was some disunion on the British side, especially among the very dissimilar American Colonies. There also was jealousy on the part of Colonials against Imperials; and there were all the usual misunderstandings when such different forces meet for any common end. But Pitt was both the greatest of all civilian ministers of war and the greatest unifier of the English-speaking peoples. So, with the inestimable advantages of sea-power on his side, he kept the ever-growing forces of invasion at work against the ever-dwindling resources of New France until the inevitable end was reached at Montreal in 1760, when only two thousand French regulars remained to lay down the arms which had kept the British so long and

so gallantly at bay. The year before (the fatal 1759) the grand totals on both sides were about 40,000 British against 20,000 French, that is, of all kinds put together, on both sides, and all over the area of operations. But while the British were well supplied the French were half starved already; and all French disabilities were further intensified as time went on.

Remembering all this, what are we to think of Montcalm, who, under these terrible conditions, won four successive victories in four successive years: first, at Oswego, thus driving in the British salient and restoring the indispensable French link in the chain between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi; next, at Fort William Henry, where he did all that could be done to clear this vital flank of New France from its most imminent danger (and where, by the way, he was absolutely guiltless of the massacre which he and his staff risked their lives in stopping); then at Ticonderoga, where he defeated four times his own numbers, as impartially told in the French monograph on *Carillon*; and, lastly, at Montmorency, where he and Lévis took immediate advantage of all the British mistakes? Organiser, strategist, tactician, and every unprejudiced soldier's beau idéal of what a fighting leader ought to be, Montcalm is worthy of a place beside Lee himself and Stonewall Jackson; for, great as their drawbacks were, they had no such disunion among their forces, and never such powerful gangs of criminally false friends to stab them in the rear.

But how about the Battle of the Plains, where Montcalm is generally supposed to have contradicted everything else in his whole career? Well, the original evidence convincingly disproves all these unfounded suppositions, and, what's more, proves that Montcalm's military powers were at their very best before and on this fatal day. For let us remember here that all the disabilities which beset him elsewhere were at their very worst during the Quebec campaign, when Vaudreuil the fool and Bigot the knave were interferingly present all through, when supplies were scarcer than ever before, disunion growing, discontent increasing, and the effective fighting forces decreasing every day by disease and desertion. Moreover, there was the big detachment of regulars which had to be sent to Montreal, because Montreal then, as in the next campaign, was Amherst's first objective.

Let anyone who knows anything of war examine the state of the commissariat, transport, and even ordnance branches under Bigot; let him read Vaudreuil's idiotic orders in his own silly words; and then let him remember that Montcalm was the commander, and on sufferance only, of half-a-dozen different forces which never made a single army — French regulars, French-Canadian regulars and militiamen, seamen of various kinds, non-combatant branches of the whole distracted Service, and a few badly cheated and unstable Indians; let him remember that while everything on the French side was known in a very short time

on the British, very little on the British side was known on the French, and then it was probably garbled by Vaudreuil, if he heard it first, before he passed it on to Montcalm: finally, let anyone who knows anything of war remember that while the British fleet was overwhelmingly strong afloat it formed an impenetrable screen behind which the British army could manœuvre in perfect secrecy and safety, and that it also served the staff with all the latest news by means of visual signals over the whole thirty miles of river front, from Montmorency up to Pointe-aux-Trembles: let anyone who knows anything of war remember all this, and then let him think out the problem that Montcalm was set to solve.

For ten whole nights and days (from the day that Wolfe broke camp at Montmorency on the 3rd of September to when he fought the battle) Montcalm had no means whatever of getting any reliable intelligence in time. Yet, through his own strategic insight, and from the manœuvres of ships and landing parties on the British side, he was led to spare what strength he could for guarding Pointe-aux-Trembles. But this was not all, nor even what was most important; for he actually divined Wolfe's own quite secret plan and did all he could to prevent its execution.

On the 5th he sent a battalion of French regulars to guard the heights between Cap Rouge (seven miles above Quebec, where the great bridge stands now) and the famous Plains, just outside the City. On the 7th Vaudreuil withdrew this

battalion. On the 10th Wolfe made his secret plan (secret even from his brigadiers) of trying to land at what is now Wolfe's Cove, just beyond the Plains. All ranks and ratings on both sides still had their eyes on Pointe-aux-Trembles, more than twenty miles above Quebec, and on the chief French encampment, from one to seven miles below Quebec, where the only big fight had taken place already, and where feints (which might mask real attacks) were still going on: that is, all ranks and ratings on both sides *except the two commanders* — Wolfe, who had made the new and secret plan, known only to the few chief naval men concerned, and Montcalm, who had divined it. After the manoeuvres on the 11th, masked as they were by the fleet, and of unknown meaning to both sides, Montcalm, on the 12th, ordered the same French regulars to camp at Wolfe's Cove itself. This meant that Vergor, a perfect "rotter" and a friend of Bigot's and Vaudreuil's, would be superseded by a good French colonel with a whole battalion of French regulars — enough to prevent any surprise ascent of the cliffs before Montcalm's main force had reached the Plains. But again Vaudreuil gave counter-orders, this time quite angrily and accompanied by the historic imbecility that "those English haven't got wings — I'll see about it myself to-morrow." Vaudreuil's to-morrow never came; for Wolfe surprised Vergor and gained the heights.

"There they are, where they have no right to be!" exclaimed Montcalm, as he ordered out the

whole force to the Plains, except a mere camp guard. Vaudreuil then issued counter-orders; and actually told Montcalm to take *one hundred men* and see what the British were about. (Here, as all through, he stands condemned by his own written words). Montcalm, however, managed to get most of his men to the Plains, where he did not rush them into action, but drew them up properly, and called all seniors to the front, out of sight of the British, to see if anybody had any further and authentic news. Nobody had. Then, as Wolfe's right seemed not yet formed, Montcalm attacked, with the result we know. He was thwarted by his own side to the very last. There were twenty-five field guns available. But he was only allowed the use of three. And so the tale goes on.

He has been often blamed for this attack; and Vaudreuil backbit him more than ever after his death. But what else could he do? He could not retreat by the lower road with the British on his flank and with ships and men to stop him where the two roads joined. He could not subsist his force two days inside Quebec, whose rotten walls were worthless. And every hour's delay would strengthen Wolfe's position; for by that evening the naval brigade (usually omitted in the usual books) had hove up all the materials for a siege, including 47 guns, the heaviest weighing $6\frac{1}{4}$ tons — hove all this up the cliffs, while the army had dug in, impenetrably in, across the Plains and the one good road to Montreal. There was no

use in waiting for the detachment from the neighbourhood of Pointe-aux-Trembles, because any additional strength gained by this would be more than offset by Wolfe's own additional strength. Fight, starve, or surrender were the only alternatives. There are other factors in the problem. But they must be studied from the original evidence; and we must stop this over-long discussion here. Might I, however, end by asking the arm-chair critics of Montcalm what infallible alternative they think he could have followed with success?

Wolfe has a fine inscription over the spot on which he breathed his last:

HERE DIED WOLFE VICTORIOUS

Wolfe and Montcalm together have a unique inscription on the monument erected to their joint renown:

MORTEM VIRTUS COMMUNEM
FAMAM HISTORIA
MONUMENTUM POSTERITAS
DEDIT

But the Montcalm monument follows perverted history in showing him only in defeat. Some Frenchman or some French Canadian would doubtless compose a far finer inscription in their own expressive tongue. But I hope that if and when they do they will convey the same idea as I endeavoured to convey in what I suggested as an additional inscription over his tomb in the

Ursuline Chapel. A suggestion had been made that the Canadian Daughters of the Empire might place crossed colours on Wolfe's hideous monument in beautiful Westminster Abbey (a monument which never looked so well as when half hidden by Canadian colours massed there while the units owning them were fighting at the front). These two colours were to have been the Jack of Queen Anne (as used in Wolfe's day) crossed with the present Union Jack, which should have been "de-faced" with a golden Maple Leaf. On the supporting shield the suggested inscription was to have been this:—

COMMEMORATING
CANADA IN ARMS
BESIDE HER MOTHER COUNTRIES
DURING THE GREAT WAR

What I also suggested for the tomb of Montcalm (with simultaneous inauguration) was: crossed *Fleurs-de-lys* and *Tricolore*, with these words on the shield:—

QUATRE FOIS VICTORIEUX
UNE FOIS VAINCU
TOUJOURS
AU GRAND HONNEUR
DES ARMES DE LA FRANCE

V. MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Language*. Suppose you went to a distant part of the world and there you found people speaking English as Shakespeare heard them speak at Warwick Fair: would you think that kind of English particularly bad? Well, this — of course with many variations from environment — is not unlike what an educated modern Frenchman finds among the French Canadians, whose educated speech is still very reminiscent of Bossuet and Molière and the days of the Grand Monarque. Even the fact that most of them call their native tongue *françà's* (and not *français*) is reminiscent of the days when Charlevoix and others found the people of New France speaking without the least outlandish accent. They spoke the French of France in those days; and some educated French Canadians speak, while still more write, the French of France to-day.

It is not, however, of the highly educated that I am speaking here, but of the proverbial man in the street and, still more, out on the farm, who, whatever his tongue may be — English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, or what not — sticks to the older forms all the more closely the farther away he lives, both mentally and physically, from the central home of his ancestral

tongue. For, as everybody knows, the older forms of all life survive longest in remote communities; linguistic life is no more an exception to this biologic law than any other form; and just as Portuguese is older in the Azores than at Lisbon, Spanish older in South America than at Madrid, and English older in New England than in Old, so, now that New France and Old have lived apart for several generations, we must expect to find the average French Canadians older in their speech than modern Frenchmen are.

Nor, if we leave such circles as that formed by our own Section I and by their congeners, and if we keep an open ear among real habitants (and even among their congeners in towns) shall we be disappointed — unless, indeed, we happen to be performing specimens of that kind of English-speaking tourist who can't see why their own "Parisian French" is not the only kind of French worth speaking. The tricks of speech these specimens perform are found offensive now and then. But why? Why should not everyone be pleased? The really perfect specimens themselves are quite delighted to find they speak a kind of French which is absolutely unintelligible to those who speak the "French-Canadian patois," while F.R. S.C.'s and all their congeners in France are too polite not to pretend that they can understand this "pure Parisian French"; and so these perfect specimens go on their way rejoicing. But the offended French Canadians? Well, should not they be happiest of all? For who else enjoys so

many opportunities of hearing a kind of noise which even French and French Canadians, put together, could never have invented for themselves ?

Speech differs of course among all French Canadians, as among ourselves, by social classes, education, locality, or calling. But, taken in a general way, with emphasis on that in which it differs from the general French of France, and with special stress on how it is spoken by the average habitant and by his urban congeners, I would venture to call it a variant made up of excellent materials and subject to peculiar dangers, of which Anglicisms are the worst. It is not, emphatically not, a patois; though it does contain some elements of several dialects current in France two centuries ago. It is, first of all, an elder form of French — and good French too. Next, it contains a fusion (perhaps I should say infusion) of old French dialects, Norman and other cognate forms preponderating. Finally, it has varied from environment: — from daily contact with local conditions, from former contact with the Indians, from contact with naval and military life, from an intimate contact with waterways greatly surpassing that of the stay-at-home French, and from contact with English-speaking people, both in the States and Canada.

When, however a *habitant* says he will *acertainer* he is not using a bad Anglicism but an excellent obsolete French word. Did not François Premier himself tell the Parlement de Paris, on

the 9th of April, 1526, *Que Nous sommes duement acertenés? Bachelier* and *bacon* have a similar history; the English words coming from the old French, which are now obsolete in Paris but flourishing in Canada. The emphatic *assavoir* is still used here; so is *fiable*, now only expressible in France by some such circumlocution as *digne de confiance*. People sometimes say *cheux eux* and *ganif*; and astonished habitants always exclaim *cray-yez?* In spite of locks the doors are still *barrées*. And in a single line of Molière you can find two much more obsolete French words still used in Canada: "Demain, du grand matin, je l'enverrai quérir." *Du* means *dès*, and *habitants* still go in quest of what they want: *je va' le q'ri'*.

Norman and cognate dialects preponderating, some northern peculiarities still occur. Such are: *a* for *elle*; *i* for *il*, *ils*, *lui*, or *y*; *amain* = handy; *espérer* = wait; *houiner* = whinny; *bers* = cradle; and *escousse* as a space of time instead of the space run in order to make a good jump. Pronunciation of vowels is decidedly broad, with *ah* for *é* sounds and *aw* for *ah*. There is a sibilant *dz* for *d*; and the final *d*, *r*, *s*, and *t* are often sounded where they are now mute in France.

A few military terms are very common in ordinary talk. What we colloquially call our "things" are always known as "booty" — *butin*. The big round "steamer" on the winter stove is a *bombe*. A fur cap is a *casque*. And, as we saw when speaking of the spoke-like fences running out from the village hold of Charlesbourg, the

village itself, in remoter districts, is still sometimes called *le fort*. Naval and nautical terms abound in everyday talk — a very natural thing in an oversea colony that was founded along its waterways. Winter snow roads are marked by buoys — *balises*; and if you miss the channel between them you'll founder — *caler*, and become, like a derelict — *dégradé*. You must *embarquer* into and *débarquer* out of any sort of vehicle ashore. A mended cart is said to have been "refitted" — *radouée*. A well-dressed woman is what our own seamen would call "fit to go foreign" — *bi'n gré-yée*. Horses are always "moored" — *amarrés*, enemies reconciled by being *ramarrés* together, and winter heralded on the 25th of November by a regular broadside of snow — *la bordée de la Sainte-Catherine*.

Indians words are comparatively rare. *Toboggane* and *mocassin* are familiar to every one. Others are more recondite: like *sassaquaw*, "no end of a row"; *micouenne*, the big wooden spoon for the camp kettle; *ouaouaron*, an onomatopœic name for the bull-frog; and *ouannaniche*, the land-locked salmon of Lake St. John.

The use of English idioms is a very real danger; and this insidious form of barbarism has already perverted the truer ways of speech. French and English, however excellent apart, make an unhappy mixture; and it is to be regretted that pronunciation, and (to a still greater extent) intonation, are affected by an environment which is displacing the richer modulations of the finest French without

even substituting the richer modulations of the finest English. Most of the common Anglicisms are merely bad superfluities forced into use by the closer pressure of modern "Anglo-Saxondom." Steamers and trains being unknown until generations after the old French time we naturally hear of *stimeurs*, of "boarding" *les chars*, and even of a traction-engine as *une espèce de stime!* *Un França's de France*, who was superintending the erection of the Champlain monument in Quebec, could not get "un cric" till someone thought of *un djack-srou*. The *habitant* will *clairer* his land, curse with all the English he knows, and sometimes get *un blackeye sur le nez*. When husband and wife go to town they can enjoy *sand-wedges* together, and she may buy *des gants de kid*, while he chooses a pair of trousers from *une grande variété de pantings*.

Canadianisms proper are quite different, and altogether justifiable. In a country of canoes and waterways certain words soon became locally specialized. *Aviron* is always "paddle"; *sauter*, to "run" the rapids; *bateau*, a slow jib-and-main-sail river cargo-boat of some 40 tons. *Portage* has actually been taken by the Academy, which stooped to conquer an immortality of ridicule as well, by inventing this wonderful example: — "Depuis Québec jusqu'à Montréal, il y a tant de portages!" *Refoul* is the strong Acadian contraction of *refoulement*, describing the sudden tumult of subsidence as the mighty ebb rushes out of the Bay of Fundy. Life in the woods has

turned *brûlé* into a noun, meaning a burnt patch. *Bois-brûlé*, however, is something very different. It means "half-breed," in allusion to the darkening of the "pale-face" complexion. A road through sticky black earth is a *pot-à-brai*, or sailor's pitch-pot. And "boucan," "the place where hams are smoked," has become *boucane*, meaning smoke itself, of any kind at all. Lumbering is responsible for the *cage* — raft, *cageux* — raftsmen, *crible* — "crib," and *glissoire* — "shoot." Sugaring has *l'érablière* — the "sugar-bush" of maple trees; *la sucrerie*, where sugar is made; *dalleaux* (nautically "scuppers") — spouts for "tapping" trees; *mouvette* — a stirabout "paddle" for the *brassin* — thickening "syrup"; *cassot* — tiny birch-bark cornucopia, full of "setting" sugar; and *la tire* — both the "pulling" of half-hardened sugar and the "pulled" sugar itself. Snow and ice have their own vocabulary. Canadians go to *le patinoir*, not "le skating-rink" affected by Parisians. *Les bordages* are shore ice; *pont de glace*, any stretch of ice capable of bearing traffic across water; *croûte*, "crust" of snow, good going for *raquetteurs* — snowshoers. The chief drawbacks to the pleasure of winter driving are the *baraudage*, "slewing," of the sleighs — *carrioles*; *bourguignon* — frozen clots after rain; *un chemin boulant*, where hoofs "ball up"; and *cahots* — not the bumpings of the carriage, as in France, but the transverse, gouged-out snow-ruts which cause the bumpings. *Frasil*, snow hanging suspended in water, is the natural foe

of every miller. This "fraw-zee" is from "fraisil" — "coal-dust". Extremes meet in similitude.

There are few words to show that the seamy side of life has called for special terms. But the frequent use of *zigonner*, "to saw a horse's mouth," is one proof of the lamentable fact that *habitants*, and most other French Canadians too, are among the very worst horse-masters in the world. Unpleasant turns of thought, too, are revealed by the universal word for women — *les créatures*, by the bogey-name for the Devil — *la Gripette*, and by the feminine form of "tom-fool" — *la bêtassee*.

But, in spite of these exceptions, and partly by reason of the general contempt for the opposite fault of affected fine language — *parler en termes* — the *habitant's* own new-found phraseology will pass with the best. Even his *distance de quelques arpents* is correct enough, where farms are staked out "on the square," and the side of an acre naturally becomes a fixed measure of length (moreover, he has French precedents to warrant it). *Fumez donc* is no bad form of inviting you to sit down and spend the evening; nor could people whose axes are worth half a chest of tools describe a penniless but capable man better than by calling him *un homme à la hache*. And what an old time charm there is in the everyday remark about any honest pair of lovers — *le cavalier fréquente sa blonde*; in the high road being still *le chemin du Roi*; and even in the word *octroi*, the Canadian use of which, in the original sense of "assistance granted," takes us far back to the old largesse of

princes. How deeply, too, must the patriarchal lore have touched a popular fancy which saw a yearly manna for the teeming rivers in the infinitude of those flies so aptly called *la manne des poissons*. And, surely, the name peculiar to Laurentian twilight is drawn from the very source of poetry itself; for, at the chill of sunset, the warmed hill-tops smoke with thickening mist, the afterglow burns through the dusking brown, and then, when darkness and light have met awhile — *à la brunante*, the Canadian day is over.

I venture to think that you will find the French-Canadian forms of French not only peculiar and, in their way, unique — unique throughout the world — but good of their kind and full of interest as well.

2. The *calèche* (pronounced on the tourist-haunted cabstands as *calash*) is a unique survival of an old French vehicle, now probably extinct everywhere else; and only surviving in Quebec because here, if anywhere, the tourist likes to feel “as he should” — and, still more, “as *she* should.”

3. P.Q. is not a Prohibition Province. But it is also not a drunken one. Doubtless there were some “good old days” when it was; though I am inclined to doubt whether there ever was a recognised bar-room query in Quebec such as some old West Indians must often have heard in their youth. “Drink, Sah? Yassah! — Drinky for drunky or drinky for dry?” However this may be, Quebec certainly had the first of all governmentally-licensed inns and bar-rooms in Canada;

for in 1648 the Governor-in-Council appointed Jacques Boisdon (bibulous cognomen!) first and only innkeeper for the City of Quebec, "provided always that the said Boisdon settles in the square in front of the Church, so that the people may go there to warm themselves; and that he keeps nobody in his house during High Mass, sermons, catechism, or Vespers."

4. *The first play ever performed in Canada* was Corneille's *Le Cid*, which was given before the Governor and all the Jesuit Fathers in the store-room belonging to the *Cent Associés* in 1646.

5. The old Intendant's *Palais* must be unique in having been, first, a brewery, established by Talon in 1671, then his own official residence, (where the Superior Council sat, and where the infamous Bigot revelled while New France was on the road to ruin) then barracks (in which lodged some of Arnold's Americans after their wonderful march from Cambridge to Quebec) then, after 112 years of military possession, Dominion Government property; and now a brewery again.

6. Quebec is unique in the whole New World as being the burial place of five Governors-in-chief, from Champlain in 1635 to the Duke of Richmond in 1819. Frontenac's heart, enclosed in a small leaden casket, is said to have been sent to his Comtesse — *la Divine*. But, so the story goes, and it may well be true, she haughtily refused to keep after death what she could never call her own in life. Consequently, it was returned to

Quebec, where, with the rest of that warrior's remains, it has passed through two great fires, one when the Récollet church was burnt in 1796, the other when the Basilica was burnt only the other day.

7. From old to new. Quebec lays claim to what, almost forty years ago (1885) was then *the longest electrical power-transmission in the world* — from Montmorency to Quebec, seven miles by wire. How true this claim may be I won't pretend to say. But we do know that by far the *longest suspension span, and by far the heaviest too, in all the world of bridges* was successfully raised into its present position in 1917. This Canadian-built central span is 640 feet long, and then made, in every way, the record for the world.

8. You will remember that, when describing the rooms of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, I drew special attention to the builder's model and the original picture of the unique *Royal William*, and promised further particulars about this Quebec-built steamer, which was doubly unique in the history of the whole world as well as several times unique in other ways. With the kind permission of the Messrs. Glasgow, Brook, and Co., Toronto, I therefore quote these particulars here from my own book, *All Afloat*, which forms a volume in the *Chronicles of Canada*. This account, first published in 1914, is now corrected in regard to the ambiguous wording of a single point. My original statement, that she crossed the Atlantic "entirely under steam" was incorrect,

because she had sails (though only as mere auxiliaries) and she used them too. What I ought to have said was that she crossed *steaming the whole way*, which she certainly did. With this alteration, and a very slight change of wording elsewhere, the following quotation (from pages 136 to 145) is exactly as written more than ten years ago. The original evidence is to be found in the *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*: New Series, No. 13, 1877-79 (which contain the original description of the first record-making voyage, written by John M'Dougall, Master of the *Royal William*) and the same, No. 20, 1889-91 (which contain the whole history, as compiled by the Society, with the concurrence of the Government of Canada).

“The *Royal William* was the first of all sea-going steamers, the first that ever crossed an ocean steaming the whole way, and the first that ever fired a shot in action. But her claims and the spurious counter-claims against her must both be made quite clear. She was not the first steamer that ever put out to sea; for the Yankee *Phœnix* made the little coasting trip from Hoboken to Philadelphia in 1809. She was not the first steamer in Canadian salt water; for the *St. John* crossed the Bay of Fundy in 1826. And she was not the first vessel with a steam engine that crossed an ocean, for the Yankee *Savannah* crossed from Savannah to Liverpool in 1819. The *Phœnix* and *St. John* call for no explanation. The *Savannah* does, especially in view of the claims so freely

made and allowed for her as being the first regular steamer to cross an ocean. To begin with, she was not a regular sea-going steamer with auxiliary sails, like the *Royal William*, but a so-called clipper-built, full-rigged ship, of three hundred tons, with a small auxiliary engine and paddle-wheels made to be let down her sides when the wind failed. She did not even steam against head winds but tacked. She took a month to make Liverpool, and she used steam for only eighty hours altogether. She could not, indeed, have done much more, because she carried only seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood, and she made port with plenty of fuel left. Her original log disproves the whole case mistakenly made out for her by some far too zealous advocates.

The claims of the *Royal William* are proved by ample contemporary evidence, as well as by the subsequent statements of her Master John M'Dougall, her builder James Goudie, and John Henry, the Quebec founder who made some castings for her engines the year after they had been put into her at Montreal. M'Dougall was a seaman of indomitable perseverance, as his famous voyage to England shows. Goudie, though only twenty-one, was a most capable naval architect, born in Canada and taught his profession in Scotland. His father was a naval architect before him and had built several British vessels on the Great Lakes for service against the Americans during the War of 1812. Both Goudie and Henry lived to retell their tale in 1891, when the Canadian

government put up a tablet to commemorate what pioneering work the *Royal William* had done, both for the inter-colonial and inter-imperial connection.

The first stimulus to move the promoters of the *Royal William* was the subsidy of £12,000 offered by the government of Lower Canada in 1830 to the owners of any steamer over five hundred tons that would ply between Quebec and Halifax. Half this amount had been offered in 1825; but the inducement was not then sufficient. The Quebec and Halifax Navigation Company was formed by the leading merchants of Quebec joined with a few in Halifax. The latter included the three Cunard brothers, whose family name has been a household word in transatlantic shipping circles from that day to this. On September 2nd, 1830, Goudie laid the keel of the *Royal William* in the yard belonging to George Black, a ship-builder, and his partner, John Saxton Campbell, formerly an officer in the 99th Foot, and at this time a merchant and shipowner in Quebec. The shipyard was situated at Cape Cove, beside the St. Lawrence, a mile above the Citadel, and directly in line with the spot on which Wolfe breathed his last after the Battle of the Plains.

The launch took place on Friday afternoon, April 29th, 1831. Even if all the people present had then foreknown the *Royal William's* career they could not have done more to mark the occasion as one of truly national significance. The leaders among them certainly looked forward to

some great results at home. Quebec was the capital of Lower Canada; and every Canadian statesman hoped that the new steamer would become a bond of union between the three different parts of the country — the old French province by the St. Lawrence, the old British provinces down by the sea, and the new British province up by the Lakes.

The Mayor of Quebec proclaimed a public holiday, which brought out such a concourse of shipwrights and other shipping experts as hardly any other city in the world could show: that is, in proportion to population. Lord Aylmer was there as Governor-General to represent King William IV, after whom the vessel was to be named the *Royal William* by Lady Aylmer. This was most appropriate, as the sailor king had been the first member of any royal house to set foot on Canadian soil, which he did at Quebec in 1787, as an officer in H.M.S. *Pegasus*. The guard and band from the 32nd Foot were drawn up near the ship. The gunners of the Royal Artillery were waiting to fire the salute from the new citadel, which, with the walls, was nearing completion, after the Imperial government had spent thirty-five million dollars in carrying out the plans approved by Wellington. Lady Aylmer took the bottle of wine, which was wreathed in a garland of flowers, and, throwing it against the bows, pronounced the historic formula: 'God bless the *Royal William* and all who sail in her.' Then, amid the crash of arms and music, the roaring of artillery, and the

enthusiastic cheers of all the people, the stately vessel took the water, to begin a career the like of which no other Canadian vessel ever equalled before that time or since.

Her engines, which developed more than two hundred horse-power, were made by Bennett and Henderson in Montreal and sent to meet her a few miles below that city, as the vessel towing her up could not stem St. Mary's Current. Her hull was that of a regular sea-going steamer, thoroughly fit to go foreign, and not the hull of an ordinary sailing ship, like the *Savannah*, with paddles hung over the sides in a calm. Goudie's master, Simmons of Greenock, had built four steamers to cross the Irish Sea; and Goudie probably followed his master's practice when he gave the *Royal William* two deep 'scoops' to receive the paddle-boxes nearer the bows than the stern. The tonnage by builder's measurement was 1370, though by net capacity of burden only 363. The length over all was 176 feet, on the keel 146. Including the paddle-boxes the beam was 44 feet; and, as each box was 8 feet broad, there were 28 feet clear between them. The depth of hold was 17 feet 9 inches, the draught 14 feet. The rig was that of a three-masted topsail schooner. There were fifty passenger berths and a good saloon.

The three trips between Quebec and Halifax in 1831 were most successful. But 1832 was the year of the great cholera, especially in Quebec, and the *Royal William* was so harassed by quarantine that she had to be laid up there. The

losses of that disastrous season decided her owners to sell out next spring for less than a third of her original cost. She was then degraded for a time into a local tug or sometimes an excursion boat. But presently she was sent down to Boston, where the band at Fort Independence played her in to the tune of 'God Save the King,' because she was the first of all steamers to enter a seaport of the United States under the Union Jack.

Ill luck pursued her new owners, who, on her return to Quebec, decided to send her to England for sale. She left Quebec on August 5th, 1833, coaled at Pictou, which lies on the Gulf side of Nova Scotia, and took her departure from there on the 18th, for her epoch-making voyage, with the following most prosaic clearance: 'Royal William, 363 tons, 36 men. John M'Dougall, master. Bound to London. British. Cargo: 254 chaldrons of coals [nearly 300 tons], a box of stuffed birds, and six spars, produce of this province. One box and one truck, household furniture, and a harp, all British, and seven passengers.' The fare was fixed at £20, 'not including wines.'

The voyage soon became eventful. Nearly three hundred tons of coal was a heavy concentrated cargo for the tremendous storm she encountered on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. She strained; her starboard engine was disabled; she began to leak; and the engineer came up to tell M'Dougall she was sinking. But M'Dougall held his course, started the pumps, and kept her under way for a week with only the port engine going.

The whole passage from Pictou, counting the time she was detained at Cowes repairing boilers, took twenty-five days. M'Dougall, a sturdy Scotsman, native of Oban, must have been sorely tempted to 'put the kettle off the boil' and run her under sail. But either the port or starboard engine or both worked her the whole way over, and thus for ever established her claim to priority in transatlantic navigation steaming the whole way.

In London she was sold for £10,000, just twice what she had fetched at sheriff's sale in Quebec some months before. She was at once chartered, crew and all, by the Portuguese government, who declined to buy her for conversion into a man-of-war. In 1834, however, she did become a man-of-war, this time under the Spanish flag, though flying the broad pennant of Commodore Henry, who was then commanding the British Auxiliary Steam Squadron against the Carlists in the north of Spain. Two years later, on May 5th, 1836, under her Spanish name, *Isabella Segunda*, she made another record. When the British Legion, under Sir de Lacy Evans, was attacking the Carlists in the bay of St. Sebastian, she stood in towards the Carlist flank and thereupon fired the first shot that any steaming man-of-war had ever fired in action.

Strangely enough, she cannot be said to have come to any definite end as an individual ship. She continued in the Spanish service till 1840, when she was sent to Bordeaux for repairs. The Spaniards, who are notorious slovens at keeping things shipshape, had allowed her to run down to

bare rot after her Britisher-Canadian crew had left her. So the French bought her for a hulk and left her where she was. But the Spaniards took her engines out and put them into a new *Isabella Segúnda*, which was wrecked in a storm on the Algerian coast in 1860.

Her career of record-making is well worth a general summary. The *Royal William* was the first steamer built to foster inter-colonial trade in Canada; the first Canadian steamer specially designed for work at sea; the first sea-going steamer to enter a port in the United States under the British flag; the first steam transport in Portugal; the first steam man-of-war in Spain; the first naval steamer that ever fired a shot in action; and the first vessel in the world that ever crossed an ocean steaming the whole way."

9. Here I shall stop, not because there is nothing else to say about the first things, last things, and only things that have conspired to make Quebec unique, but because the main points have now, I think, been all conned over; and I do not wish to chronicle small beer.

In conclusion I would only beg to congratulate Quebec on the two uniquely auspicious visits she has been fortunate enough to have secured from the Royal Society of Canada; for the first was in 1908, the Tercentennial year of all Quebec, while the present one, in 1924, delightfully occurs during the Centennial year of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, the senior of all the learned societies throughout the British Empire overseas.

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